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Sunnyvale : from the "city of destiny" to the "heart of the Silicon Valley

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SUNNYVALE: FROM THE "CITY OF DESTINY" TO THE "HEART OF THE SILICON VALLEY"

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ABSTRACT

SUNNYVALE: FROM THE "CITY OF DESTINY" TO THE "HEART OF THE SILICON VALLEY"

by Mary Jo Ignoffo

This thesis is a narrative history of Sunnyvale, California, beginning with the mission period when it was a sheep pasture for Mission Santa Clara through its emergence as a town when promoters proclaimed it "the city of destiny" to the technological revolution of the 1970s when it became known as the "heart of the Silicon Valley." The people, places and events identified here contributed to the transformation from the small, agricultural town into a high-technology enclave. The research indicates several pivotal points in Sunnyvale's history when county and city officials, along with local citizens and townspeople, opted for continued growth and development. Economic dependence on the fruit industry gave way to complete reliance on the military industrial complex until the 1970s when high-technology businesses dominated. The changes in Sunnyvale also reflect larger historical developments that occurred simultaneously throughout Santa Clara County, the San Francisco Bay Area, and all of California.

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INTRODUCTION

The City of Sunnyvale, best known today for its numerous high-technology and defense-related companies, is comprised of twenty-five square miles at the southwestern edge of San Francisco Bay. In 1750, the land lay virtually untouched by Western civilization. By 1908, Sunnyvale was a tiny town of 1,200 residents huddled near a railstop on the Southern Pacific line between San Francisco and San Jose. This history narrates the story of the changes that occurred, from the layout of a six-square-mile town on a piece of a wealthy Irishman's estate, through the build-up of the fruit industry and the free-for-all annexations of unincorporated land in the 1950s and 1960s, to the major alterations of former farms and downtown in the 1970s. The irregular configuration which today is Sunnyvale has come to be known as the "heart of the Silicon Valley."

The town's history is made up of people and places that are unknown to the vast majority of its residents and workers. The cast of characters ranges from Costanoan Indian Chief Lopez Ynigo to semiconductor industry watchdog Don Hoefler, with all manner of individuals in between. Even the street names conjure up personalities and places of

the past: Murphy, Taaffe, Arques, Mathilda, Crossman, Carroll, Pastoria, and Borregas.

Today's Sunnyvale was once a sheep pasture for grazing animals of Mission Santa Clara. Later the land was granted by the Mexican government as Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas to Don Mariano Castro who sold a portion to Martin Murphy, Jr. "Bay View," as Murphy named his farm, evolved into a vast wheat-producing estate as well as a social center for the Santa Clara Valley. In the early 1860s, he convinced the San Francisco-San Jose Railroad to lay track through "Bay View" and built "Murphy Station" as a flagstop on the rail route.

After Murphy's death in 1884, a small collection of tenant farmers remained clustered near "Murphy Station." San Jose real estate developer, Walter Crossman, bought two hundred acres around the station from Murphy heirs and laid out a town. Some former Murphy laborers and other immigrant families bought land from Crossman for their own farms. Sunnyvale was named in 1901, substantial growth occurred after the 1906 earthquake, and in 1912, Sunnyvale was incorporated. Joshua Hendy Iron Works relocated from San Francisco to Sunnyvale after the San Francisco earthquake. It steadily produced mining equipment and turbine engines, increasing its labor force through World War I.

Even though the Iron Works helped local commerce, Sunnyvale was completely dependent on fruit production for its economic survival. Libby, McNeill & Libby and Sunnyvale Canneries employed most of the women of the town during production season while men worked in the orchards. As the demand for fruit expanded, migrant laborers were imported to keep the cost of production down. By 1930, Sunnyvale had become socially and economically unstable because of its large transient population. In summer the population climbed to 6,000, but only 3,500 were year-round residents.[1]

Late in the 1920s, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce initiated a regional effort to offer the United States Navy a site at Sunnyvale for a new lighter-than-air dirigible fleet. Naval Air Station-Sunnyvale, later renamed Moffett Field Naval Air Station, opened in 1933 and helped to stabilize the economy. The United States Army took over the base briefly at the beginning of World War II as a training center for ground troops. In 1942 it reverted to the Navy.

Hendy Iron Works barely survived the Depression, and was purchased in 1940 by a cartel that had Defense Department connections. The cartel landed millions of dollars in military contracts which lasted throughout World

[1]Polk's San Jose City and Santa Clara County Directory, 1930 (San Francisco: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1929), 126.

War II. The workers, "Iron Men of Hendy," broke several records in the production of Liberty Ship engines and "Tiny Tim" rocket launchers. At the war's end, the Iron Works let go over seven thousand workers.

A core of Sunnyvale businessmen reorganized the Chamber of Commerce after the war and began to take calculated steps to draw industry to the town. In 1949, Sunnyvale became a charter city, which allowed policy decisions to be made by the newly established City Manager. During the 1950s, thousands of acres were annexed to the city, and land specifically zoned for industrial use was set aside with sewers, water, streets and parking. Companies such as Personal Products Corporation and Sylvania Electric Company arrived in the 1950s, and residential development skyrocketed. Westinghouse bought Hendy Iron Works, and Van Nuys-based Lockheed Missiles & Space Company opened its local plant in 1957. Companies that established themselves in Sunnyvale in the 1960s shared one common denominator: an economic dependence on defense contracts for research, development and production of defense or weapons systems. The United States government was their single biggest, if not the sole, customer.

Sunnyvale's population jumped from just under 10,000 in 1950 to over 50,000 in 1960. New schools were built and Sunnyvale Plaza Shopping Center opened in the center of

town. Sunnyvale proclaimed itself "the city with the built-in future!"[2]

Several civic disputes erupted in the 1960s, including the firing of Chamber of Commerce manager Al Spiers, the forced resignation of City Planning Commissioners Don Logan and John Houlihan, and the mutiny against City Manager Tom Sweeney. The city began an urban renewal project on a blighted site which resulted in the development of Town & Country Village.

By 1970, Sunnyvale was home to the largest industrial park in the county. Moffett Industrial Park, a joint venture of the Guy F. Atkinson Company, Lockheed, and the Prudential Insurance Company, did not meet initial occupancy expectations. Each of the early tenants, however, was a major defense contractor: Lockheed Missiles & Space, Electro-Magnetic System Labs (ESL), and Control Data Corporation.

The end of the war in Vietnam and the continuing evolution of the semiconductor industry caused a shift away from complete dominance of government-financed defense projects. The emerging new computer technology had deep roots in the San Francisco Bay Area because of Stanford University, NASA-Ames Research Center, and Defense

[2]Sunnyvale Chamber of Commerce, "Sunnyvale, U.S.A.: The City With the Built-in Future," 1956, Pamphlet file, Sunnyvale Public Library.

Department-sponsored research projects. Santa Clara County was dubbed "Silicon Valley" in 1971 by Don Hoefler because of the concentration of high-technology firms. Sunnyvale was affected by the Silicon Valley phenomenon when hundreds of new "start-up" companies mushroomed out of older, established corporate giants and settled in the city. More workers and residents flocked to Sunnyvale and took the last bit of undeveloped land. The city's unbridled growth and unreserved welcome to industry earned Sunnyvale the designation, "the heart of the Silicon Valley."

In the 1970s, the City of Sunnyvale followed recommendations of outside consultants to replace the main shopping street with a regional mall. The barely twenty-year-old Sunnyvale Plaza was demolished and Sunnyvale Town Center put in its place. Residues of angry disputes between city government and citizen groups regarding the Town Center project and other issues about the "central core" of the town remain even today.

January 1980 marked the first time the Sunnyvale City Council established a moratorium on industrial growth. Problems with pollution, traffic, and the housing crunch were cited by the council as reasons for discouraging further growth. The moratorium lost some of its force when the council granted several variances to the halt in construction. The Chamber of Commerce did not support the

moratorium, its first open dispute with the City Council, and claimed that a slow-growth policy was not in the best interest of the city.

This narrative concludes at 1980 because that year marks the beginning of a new political era in Sunnyvale. Organized political opposition to the former pro-growth posture of the elected officials was successful at the ballot box. Those candidates who had formerly been viewed as radical because of their desire for limited growth, became identified as moderate. Those who had been liberal in the 1950s and 1960s for promoting industrial growth began to be viewed as conservative.

This account of Sunnyvale's history is based on a wide range of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include newspaper accounts from the Sunnyvale Standard, Valley Journal, San Jose Mercury News and San Francisco Chronicle. City documents such as the City Charter and the General Plan were essential. Manuscript United States census records for Santa Clara County and Sunnyvale, as well as published demographic statistics, offered insight into the ethnic make-up of Sunnyvale. Personal interviews, video and audio-taped oral histories, and memoirs of residents helped to paint a personal story of the development of the town with its links to fruit production. Archival collections of the Castro family, Mrs. Laura Whipple, and

the photograph collection at the California History Center had useful information on the Castro family story, early Sunnyvale and Moffett Field. Orchardists' scrapbooks and the Chamber of Commerce pamphlets and brochures on file at the Sunnyvale Public Library identified the points of view of those two groups toward development in Sunnyvale.

Secondary sources include numerous county histories and several works on the fruit industry, war production, postwar development, and the Silicon Valley. Yvonne Jacobson's Passing Farms: Enduring Values (1984) examines the transition that took place in Santa Clara Valley from agriculture to a high-technology enclave. She offers the unique perspective of one who was raised on a Sunnyvale farm. She describes the feelings of some farmers about the rampant development in the county. This thesis identifies some other farmers who actively participated in the growth in Sunnyvale by advocating residential and industrial real estate development.

The California History Center's publication Sunnyvale: City of Destiny (1974), the only published history of Sunnyvale, is a valuable resource because of its many clues to the city's past. However, only a few pages are devoted to the post-World War II era. This thesis examines some of the people and events named in City of Destiny from a new

perspective, and give special emphasis to the postwar period.

In many ways, Sunnyvale's identity is as elusive and irregular as its city boundaries. It is merged into its neighbors at its borders with a sameness that does not clearly delineate the end of a neighboring town and the beginning of Sunnyvale. This obscurity does not elicit a sense of connection and identification with Sunnyvale. In addition, without a sense of historical identity, feelings of isolation and alienation, hallmarks of modern America, can grip us and leave us impotent for community participation. This history is written out of a concern to recover hidden or lost identity which in turn can encourage civic responsibility and participation.

The history of Sunnyvale cannot be seen in isolation from that of Santa Clara County, the San Francisco Bay Area, or even the whole of California. Factors that shaped the region also affected Sunnyvale, from the discovery of gold and the emergence of an agricultural economy, through the shift to war production and postwar population growth, to the technological revolution of the late twentieth century. Sunnyvale did not grow and develop in a vacuum, but exemplifies some of the trends that have formed California as a whole. In this city's history, we can examine these

large-scale historical developments at close range and explore their human dimensions.

CHAPTER 1

BEFORE SUNNYVALE: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

An occasional valley oak or patches of marsh grasses near the edge of the Bay are perhaps the only visible evidence of what today's Sunnyvale looked like a mere 250 years ago. Most of the huge, ancient oak trees that dominated the scene were removed by fruit farmers. Gone are the tule reed marshes and abundant underbrush that fed and housed scores of species of geese, pelicans, quail, eagles and giant condors. Gone are the herds of wild game that roamed the land, the grizzlies, elk, antelope, deer, and the smaller wolves, foxes and rabbits.

The indigenous people who lived here were described by the Spanish explorers as "the coast dwellers," thus named *costanos* or the Costanoans. The abundance of the San Francisco Bay environment supported relatively stable, non-competitive tribal communities that could find ample food from natural vegetation, wild game or small animals, and most of all, shellfish. Burial sites at the surviving shell mounds nearby provide evidence of native life. In 1972, excavation of the "Sunnyvale girl" from the Sunnyvale East Drainage Channel yielded a human skeleton between 3,500 and

5,000 years old.[1] A large village, Posolmi, existed near Sunnyvale, where Moffett Field Naval Air Station stands today. Villagers from Posolmi gathered food and hunted game on the land which is Sunnyvale. They lived here for hundreds of years before the arrival of the Spanish, but had very little permanent impact on the land. They used what they needed and left the rest.[2]

Spanish explorers arrived in California in the 1770s and established military installations and missions. They forced the native population to labor in European systems of trade and agriculture which resulted in the abandonment of native villages. The Spanish misinterpreted the natives' way of life as uncivilized and idolatrous and set about to transform it. The result was a clash of cultures, ending in the dominance of one over the other--the first in a series of such clashes that would occur here over the next two centuries.

Natives of the Sunnyvale area were drafted by Mission Santa Clara. In the census of 1800, the Indians at Mission

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[1]R.E. Taylor and others, "Middle Holocene Age of the Sunnyvale Human Skeleton," Science, 17 June 1983, 273.

[2]Some helpful sources for information on early Bay Area inhabitants are Robert F. Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, Local History Studies, vol. 18 (Cupertino, CA: California History Center, 1974); Malcolm Margolin, The Ohlone Way (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978); and David W. Mayfield, "Ecology of the Pre-Spanish San Francisco Bay Area" (Ph.D. diss., San Francisco State University, 1978).

Santa Clara numbered 2,228, which was more than any of the other missions.[3] They labored in agricultural endeavors growing grapes, pears, figs and grain. Cattle and sheep grazed in pastures to the northeast of the Mission proper, in an area the Spanish named *la pastoria de las borregas* (the sheep pasture). This is the land that would be marked off as a rancho in the 1840s, named Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas, and eventually renamed Sunnyvale. Within the first twenty years of Spanish settlement, the native villages of the Sunnyvale area were completely depopulated. The Indians who survived epidemics of European diseases lived at Mission Santa Clara, converted to Christianity willingly or not, and labored for the Mission and the Spanish Crown.

The padres' primary motivation was to convert the natives to Christianity, while the main goal of the military was to claim the territory for Spain and increase trade. The padres planned to hold all the land until such time that the natives could farm and trade in the Spanish tradition, an estimated ten years. Spain would give land back to Christianized natives, who would then be Spanish citizens and provide protection from incursion by other nations. From the very beginning there was conflict between the

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[3]Stanley Young, The Missions of California (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988), 105.

padres and the military on what means ought to be used to achieve the various goals. This conflict was never resolved and resulted in secularization, when the mission lands and labor forces were usurped by the civilian and military leaders.[4]

It became increasingly clear that Spain was simply too far away to exercise effective economic and political control. In 1821, after a series of conflicts, the Mexican Republic was established and took control of the territory. The missions were secularized and a new land tenure system began. Spanish-born padres were expelled. Mexico, in an attempt to strengthen its grasp on the area, offered California-born Mexicans, or Californios as they came to be called, large tracts of land in California, including the mission properties. Native Americans had no means of support, and in most cases, no ancestral village awaiting their return. They were left with very little choice but to work on the ranchos of the Californios.

The Ranchos

Previously unable to own land because they were not of the highest class *gente de razon* (people of reason), many Californios applied for and were granted large tracts of

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[4]Walter Bean and James J. Rawls, California: An Interpretive History, 5th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1988), 18-19.

property. A few Anglo-Americans also sought to own property in California. They were required either to swear allegiance to Mexico and convert to Catholicism or to marry a Californio woman.

Two land grants from the Mexican government involved the land of present-day Sunnyvale. Rancho Ynigo was granted to an Indian. Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas was granted to a Californio, who later sold half of the grant to a wealthy Irish immigrant.

Rancho Ynigo

Very few Indians were granted land by the Mexican government. One exception, however, was Chief Lupe (sometimes Lopez) Ynigo, who was granted almost 1,700 acres called Rancho Posolmi in 1844 by Governor Micheltorena. It has subsequently been identified in county records as Rancho Ynigo, after the grantee. The area had been the site of the Posolmi tribal village where present-day Moffett Field stands, located to the north of Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas. Ynigo and his seventeen cohabitants were enumerated as "Indians" in the 1852 census, which also identifies their crops, equipment, and animals. This rancho functioned in the tradition of the mission economic and agricultural systems. Rancho Ynigo did not pass to any Indian heirs but was patented to Robert Walkinshaw in 1881.

Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas

The area which today is Sunnyvale was part of Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas. In 1842 Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado of Mexico granted the 8,800-acre parcel to Francisco Estrada and his wife Inez (Castro) upon request of Inez's father, Mariano Castro. Francisco and Inez died within a short time of each other and the property went to Francisco's father, Jose Mariano Estrada. Upon his death the property reverted to Mariano Castro.[5] The Castro family moved onto the property in 1843, and their house was located in what is now Mountain View.[6]

The Murphy Family and Bay View Farm

Martin Murphy, Jr. was an illiterate Irish immigrant who pioneered from Missouri over the Sierra Nevada to California with his family in 1844. The Stevens-Murphy party preceded the Donner expedition and, like many early Anglo arrivals, were successful farmers when gold was discovered at Sutter's mill. The steady stream of gold seekers became a source of great wealth for those like Murphy who were ready to provide wheat, beef, horses, supplies, and lodging to the arriving masses.

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[5]Mildred Gentry Winters, "Mariano Castro," Castro Collection, Box 8, California History Center, Cupertino.

[6]Sheila Martinez, "The Spanish Heritage of a Lingering Sheep Meadow," in Sunnyvale, City of Destiny, ed. California History Center, Local History Studies, vol. 17 (Cupertino, CA: De Anza College, 1974), 9.

Murphy purchased land from Ernest Rufus in the Cosumnes River region of the Sacramento Valley for $250, and successfully grew wheat and raised cattle. On 28 January 1846, Murphy applied for Mexican citizenship to ensure his rights to the property.[7] Explorer and diarist Bayard Taylor recorded his impressions while lodging with the Martin Murphy, Jr. family:

> Mr. Murphy, I found, was the son of the old gentleman whose hospitalities I had shared in the valley of San Jose. He had been living three years on the river, and his three sturdy young sons could ride and throw the lariat equal to any Californian. There were two or three Indian boys belonging to the house, one of whom, a solid, shock-headed urchin, as grave as if he was born to be a "medicine-man," did all the household duties with great precision and steadiness. He was called "Billy," and though he understood English as well as his own language, I never heard him speak.[8]

Johann Augustus Sutter was a friend and neighbor of Martin Murphy and listed him along with his father and brothers in a diary as a participant in the skirmishes leading to the Bear Flag Revolt:

> Roster of the Forces Which Left Sutter's Fort January First, 1845 . . . The little army marched [to San Jose under Captain Gantt] to the aid of Governor Manuel Micheltorena and against the revolting Californians

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[7]Gabrielle Sullivan, Martin Murphy, Jr.: California Pioneer 1844-1884, Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies (Stockton, CA: University of Pacific, 1974), 16.

[8]Bayard Taylor, El Dorado, vol. 1 (Palo Alto, CA: Lewis Osborn, 1968), 230.

under Jose Castro and former Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado.[9]

The Murphy brothers also served under Captain John Fremont in the Mexican-American War. The Martin Murphy, Jr. ranch is designated by historical landmark as the site of the first overt action of the Mexican-American War. Lieutenant Francisco Arce and his men and horses were taken captive at Murphy's ranch on 10 June 1846.

In 1850, the Martin Murphys visited San Jose to purchase cattle for resale in the mining regions, but the San Jose cattle seller refused the price Murphy offered. Instead, Murphy used the cash he was carrying to pay Mariano Castro the sum of $12,000 for a portion of Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas. Two smaller tracts of land were added by purchase after United States Land Commission rulings in the 1850s, for a combined total of 4,800 acres. Murphy moved his entire family to the Santa Clara Valley because of its superior climate, his desire to be near his parents living in San Jose, and his growing frustration at the thievery and lawlessness in the Sacramento area resulting from the Gold Rush.[10]

By the time Martin Murphy, Jr. moved to the Santa Clara Valley, he was already a wealthy man. In 1850, he received

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[9]Johann A. Sutter, Diary of John Sutter (Palo Alto, CA: Grabhorn Press, 1932), 20.

[10]Sullivan, Martin Murphy, Jr., 17.

$50,000 for three thousand head of cattle and half of the property he purchased six years earlier for $250. Murphy ordered a prefabricated New England-style house from a lumber mill in Bangor, Maine. It was sent by ship around Cape Horn and reconstructed on the recently acquired property. It was the first frame house in Santa Clara County. The Murphy family renamed the Rancho "Bay View," and they became very well known in the Santa Clara Valley.

Like many other large landowners in California, Martin Murphy, Jr. molded Bay View into a vast wheat-producing estate more as a speculative venture than to create a self-sufficient family farm. In California in 1852, fewer than 145,000 acres were producing wheat. The average price per bushel was $2.40, with the average planted acre yielding twenty bushels. By 1861, the price per bushel had fallen to less than half what it had been ten years earlier, but the number of acres planted swelled to over 361,000. Growing wheat became much more competitive, but Murphy was able to maximize profits because he imported the most efficient farm equipment from the East via Panama. He also maintained access to a cheap labor pool, including Indians, Chinese and other immigrants. He bought more real estate with the profits realized from wheat production.

The 1850s were particularly turbulent in California because of raging landownership disputes between

Californios, Anglo settlers, and squatters. The Land Commission Act of 1851 was passed by the federal government to establish a commission to determine the validity of Mexican land titles. The grants of the Mexican government were supposed to remain intact, but the grantees had to prove title, which took on average, seventeen years.[11] Many had to sell property to pay legal fees.

Martin Murphy, Jr. was successful in proving his title to thousands of acres. His main problem, however, like many other landowners, was dealing with squatters who established themselves on vacant land. The squatters viewed themselves as settlers, willing to build and improve the land. They posed a threat to the wealth of Murphy and others like him, and were not tolerated.

The 1860 census returns indicate that Martin Murphy, Jr. owned real estate valued at $60,000 with $60,000 worth of personal property.[12] During the 1860s, Murphy purchased three contiguous ranchos in San Luis Obispo County: Santa Margarita, Atascadero, and Asuncion. The seller, Joaquin Estrada, had over-mortgaged the property and was forced to sell. Murphy did not foreclose on the money he had loaned Estrada, but reduced the purchase price by the amount of the

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[11]Bean and Rawls, California, 122.

[12]United States, Bureau of the Census, Unpublished Manuscript, Santa Clara County, California, 1860 and 1870.

debt. The 1870 census returns show that Murphy's real estate holdings were worth $2,000,000.[13] At one point, he owned 90,000 acres in several counties. However, only 3,000 acres were actively farmed in any given year. The remainder was grazing land for vast herds of cattle and horses.[14]

With the decline of goldmining and the completion of the transcontinental railroad, thousands of Chinese were forced out of Mother Lode and Comstock towns. Many came to the Santa Clara Valley to build the San Francisco-San Jose rail link and then became farm laborers. In 1861, Murphy issued a "Release of Right of Way" to the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad to lay track on his property, provided they would pick up passengers from "Murphy Station," as the flagstop became popularly known.

The Chinese had a major impact on the economy of the valley by their labor building the railroad. After the rail connection was built, many Chinese became tenant farmers in Santa Clara County and grew strawberries because the crop generated a living even after paying the property owner.[15]

[13]Ibid.

[14]Paul W. Gates, ed., California Ranchos and Farms 1846-1862 Including the Letters of John Quincy Adams Warren of 1861, Being Largely Devoted to Livestock, Wheat Farming, Fruit Raising, and the Wine Industry (Madison, WI: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), 50.

[15]Sucheng Chan, This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1960-1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 249.

In 1879, there were over 250 Chinese strawberry growers and more than one hundred Chinese truck gardeners in Santa Clara County. The number of truck gardeners grew in the mining regions of California during the 1870s, but diminished in the San Franicisco Bay Area. Anti-Chinese campaigns in San Francisco by groups like the Workingman's Party of California reduced the numbers of Chinese truck gardeners. Immigrant Germans, Italians and Portuguese became truck gardeners in the 1870s, replacing the Chinese.[16]

The 1870 census enumerates eighteen Murphy household members at Bay View, eight of whom were hired help. The domestic servants were born in Ireland. The household enumerated directly after the Murphys lists twelve Chinese men, identified as farm laborers. Since the Chinese could not own land, and Murphy was the largest landowner in Fremont township, it is clear that these Chinese men were working on the Murphy farm. All were born in China, and none owned any personal or real property.[17]

In 1880, the Chinese made up 48.2% of the farm labor force in Santa Clara County. The Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 limited Chinese immigration so that Chinese laborers could not enter the country and compete with other labor groups. The Chinese were not allowed to become citizens nor

[16]Ibid., 65-66.

[17]Census Manuscript, 1870.

could they own property. Up to 1900 there were a substantial number of Chinese in Fremont Township, which includes present-day Sunnyvale. By 1910, however, the Chinese population dropped precipitously; since there were almost no Chinese women, the population could not reproduce itself after immigration was cut off.[18]

In 1881, Martin Murphy, Jr. and his wife, Mary Bulger Murphy, prepared for their fiftieth wedding anniversary celebration by issuing a general invitation in Bay Area newspapers to a giant barbeque at Bay View.[19] The expected 3,000 guests swelled to a supposed 10,000. The City of San Jose closed for the celebration as public officials flocked to the party. Trains from San Francisco and San Jose, as well as numerous carriages and wagons, brought guests from all over the Bay Area.

A mythology about the Murphys has grown because of their pioneering trek across the Sierra Nevada, their financial success in California after meager immigrant beginnings, and their philanthropic contributions to Santa Clara College and the College of Notre Dame. The myths have been perpetuated and embellished, mentioning numerous virtues including a claim that he was even-handed in property disputes with squatters and that he was constantly

[18]Ibid., 1900 and 1910.

[19]San Jose Mercury, 15 June 1881.

benevolent to the poor in the valley. One local researcher noted "that everyone was welcome in the [Murphy] home, and the guests of little means would find a sum of money in their room."[20] California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft claimed that "Murphy showed his charitable attitude in his dealings with squatters; his regard for them is pecularly noteworthy as an almost solitary example of its kind."[21] The San Francisco Morning Call said "Murphy condoned their [squatters] trespass on his property with charity,"[22] but the comment was published eight years after his death, which makes the accuracy of the sentiment questionable. Murphy biographer Sullivan claimed that the "the `squatters' consequently withdrew without the bitterness which often resulted from such encounters."[23] Bernard Murphy fondly recalled one of his father's strongest attributes: "his cordial reception of all. It made no difference whether it was a tramp or a millionaire."[24]

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[20]William Thomas, "Martin Murphy, Jr.," in City of Destiny, 15.

[21]Hubert Howe Bancroft, Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth (San Francisco: The History Company, 1891), 48.

[22]San Francisco Morning Call, 30 August 1892.

[23]Sullivan, Martin Murphy, Jr., 24.

[24]Ibid.

A closer look at the evidence reveals a somewhat less saintly man, whose political and economic power was not simply the "luck of the Irish." In Japanese Legacy (1985), authors Lukes and Okihiro point out that the Murphys capitalized on their pioneer history as well as their background as oppressed Catholics in Ireland to increase their wealth in the valley. Furthermore, "families like the Murphy's dominated the economic and political life of the valley during the 1850s, creating a landed aristocracy and instituting a system of paternalism."[25] Martin Murphy, Jr. owned in excess of 90,000 acres of land in several counties, making him one of the largest landowners in California. It appears that Martin Murphy, Jr. transferred to Santa Clara County precisely what his family had fled in English-dominated Ireland: a landed gentry controlling the lives of tenant farmers.

> The Murphys, father and son, skimmed the cream off the land, created a small fortune for themselves through extensive use, but incurred for themselves much ill will for their treatment of settlers.[26]

Recent historians have claimed that Murphy exploited Native Americans by drafting them to mine in the gold fields and by

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[25]Timothy Lukes and Gary Y. Okihiro, Japanese Legacy (Cupertino, CA: California History Center, De Anza College, 1985), 3, 11.

[26]Gates, California Ranchos, 50.

working them in his wheat fields.[27] Diarist Bayard Taylor unintentionally confirms this assertion by identifying "Billy" and other Indians as "belonging to the house."[28]

Murphy's wealth increased, not so much from gold, as from supplying the gold miners with beef, wheat and lodging. Biographer Sullivan claims that he did not benefit from the gold rush, but her own text indicates his financial success:

> Conservative in outlook, Murphy had no part in the gold rush or resulting speculation. However, the qualities of an astute business man helped him to utilize to his advantage the existing conditions in the mining section of the state.[29]

Likewise, Bayard Taylor recalled the oft-mentioned "Murphy hospitality" that he encountered on the Consumnes ranch. Interestingly enough, Taylor did not complain that the hospitality cost him and others who stayed there $4.00 per night, quite a sum for 1849.[30]

When Hubert Howe Bancroft compiled his Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth (1891), he was instructed in a letter from William McQuoid that the biographical sketch of Martin Murphy, Jr. needed to please Bernard

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[27]Lukes and Okihiro, Japanese Legacy, 9.

[28]Taylor, El Dorado, 230.

[29]Sullivan, Martin Murphy, Jr., 14.

[30]Taylor, El Dorado, 231.

Murphy:

> Please remember that the Hon. B. D. Murphy is the person who we especially want to please. In addition to the dictation and biography cited, he is now a candidate on the Cleveland ticket for elector at large, having been nominated without any knowledge or effort on his part.
>
> He is the business successor of his father. By unanimous consent he is said to be just like his father in liberality and manly principles.
>
> I want you to say as little as possible about the brothers and sisters of Martin Murphy Jun [sic] Let whatever may be said, be of a complimentary character.[31]

Martin Murphy died in 1884 and his estate, estimated in value between three and five million dollars, was divided among his children and grandchildren. The heirs included his sons Bernard D. Murphy, James T. Murphy, Patrick W. Murphy; the four orphaned children of Elizabeth Yuba Murphy and William Taaffe: William, Martin, Mathilda and Mary; the Murphy daughters Mrs. Nellie G. Arques and Mrs. Mary Ann Carroll. Each received 820 acres of property, most of which they leased out to tenant farmers or sold. It was managed for all by Bernard Murphy. Patrick Murphy managed and lived on the land in San Luis Obispo County. The male Murphy heirs were not farmers but instead pursued successful political and civic careers.[32]

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[31]Sullivan, Martin Murphy, Jr., 58.

[32]Ibid., 68.

Conclusion

The Spanish mission and presidio system destroyed Native American ways of life and permanently transformed the use of the land. A culture clash between the Spanish and Native Americans was the first in a series of many that occurred after radical changes in the prevailing economic system.

A second clash occurred between landowning Californios and immigrating Anglos after the Mexican-American War. Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas, although purchased rather than taken from a Californio, typifies the Anglo-Californio clash. In the last half of the nineteenth century, the mission sheep pasture was transformed by Martin Murphy, Jr. into his family home, a cattle-breeding farm and a vast wheat-producing estate. Murphy was one of several Anglo land barons in California who gained control of land, pushed out Californios, and exploited cheap labor provided by Chinese and Native Americans. Murphy's death coincided with a third economic shift when wheat production was on a downward spiral and fruit orchards became a financially viable alternative to wheat farming.

CHAPTER 2

SUNNYVALE: "CITY OF DESTINY"

Changes in Landownership

The death of Martin Murphy, Jr. in 1884 coincided with a decline in the viability of California wheat production and the beginning a shift toward smaller landowners in the Santa Clara Valley. Several factors contributed to the sale of large tracts of land and their division into smaller parcels. For one thing, wheat farming had been initiated in Santa Clara County as a speculative enterprise and an attempt to make a quick profit. Financial incentives dwindled by the 1880s because of competition from the Mississippi Valley and Russia. In addition, wheat farming depleted the soil. Land that had previously produced four or five crops in a single season, yielded half that by the 1880s. Livestock trade that accompanied wheat farming was dealt serious blows by the drought in 1864 and new California enclosure laws. They stipulated that livestock had to be fenced or owners could not prosecute thieves and that adjoining landowners could press charges for damage resulting from the animals.

Most of the disputed land titles resulting from the Mexican War were settled in the 1870s and 1880s. Owners who had previously been unable to sell because of a clouded title, were now free to do so. Patriarchs of the wealthiest

families in the valley died, and their landholdings were divided among heirs or sold. For the most part, they sold the smaller parcels to immigrants from southern European countries who made up a growing mercantile class.

A property tax introduced in Santa Clara County in the 1870s also encouraged the breakup of huge landholdings. Properties were assessed whether or not they were actively producing. Only small portions of very large estates, like Murphy's, were planted and harvested each year. Tax payments on hundreds of idle acres was a drain on the cash flow of landowners,[1] including the Murphys. Even though the value of Murphy's estate was estimated from three to five million dollars, the annual income was rumored as only $60,000, which could account for the sale of the bulk of the estate in the 1890s.[2]

The San Jose Board of Trade (later the Chamber of Commerce) reorganized in 1886 and, along with Santa Clara County officials, actively sought to populate the county to expand the economy with commerce generated by newcomers. The businessmen in the Board of Trade were land reformers and sought to wrest control from the remaining oligarchical founding families of the valley. Promotional pamphlets

[1]Yvonne Jacobson, Passing Farms, Enduring Values: California's Santa Clara Valley (Los Altos: William Kaufmann, Inc., 1984), 66.

[2]Sullivan, Martin Murphy, Jr., 68.

generated by the Board of Trade reflect a "streets paved with gold" mentality which was at least partially responsible for drawing people to the valley. The county recorder's office quadrupled its staff to process the paperwork generated by land sales. In August of 1886, land "values doubled before the month was out."[3]

The arrival to the valley of Southern European immigrants reinforced the changes in the land. They brought with them an expertise in fruit and vine growing. They capitalized on the natural availability of water and developed irrigation systems for their crops.

Several factors contributed to the development of fruit production in California in general, and Santa Clara County in particular. The main one was the decline in the wheat market due to high freight rates, outside competition, and fluctuation in world markets. Advances in irrigation techniques also encouraged orcharding. The State Agricultural Society journals from the 1880s say that vineyards and orchards saved the state's agricultural industry from ruin.[4]

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[3]Eugene T. Sawyer, History of Santa Clara County (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1922), 240.

[4]Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1939), 59-60.

The average size of farms in Santa Clara County declined substantially between 1880 and 1900. In the mid-1880s, there were roughly 700 Santa Clara County farms over one hundred acres and 700 under one hundred acres. In 1890, 1,400 county farms had fewer than one hundred acres, while 750 farms had more. By the turn of the century, over 3,000 farms in Santa Clara County were smaller than one hundred acres and 938 were larger.[5]

The look of the land changed dramatically. What had been wheat fields became orchards. Judge Samuel F. Leib, who had first arrived in the Santa Clara Valley in the 1860s, described the startling transformation from wheat to fruit trees by the 1880s. "The valley [had been] a vast grain field," and he could remember no significant fruit orchards.

> Now behold the change!. . . I had occasion last spring to drive an Eastern friend around a portion of this valley, and we agreed. . . to keep account of all portion of the road that had no orchard or vineyard fronting on one or both of its sides. That drive extended between twenty-five and thirty miles, and at its close we found that there was much less than one mile in all not fringed by orchards or vineyards.[6]

Leib's fond recollection of the vast grain fields regrettably replaced by orchards sounds remarkably similar

[5]Lukes and Okihiro, Japanese Legacy, 15.

[6]Jaclyn Greenberg, "Industry in the Garden: A Social History of the Canning Industry and Cannery Workers in the Santa Clara Valley, California, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 29.

to the wistful recollections of longtime Sunnyvale residents about the replacement of blossoming fruit orchards by high-technology businesses.

Antone Vargas's life history exemplifies the changes in land tenure that occurred in the valley. A Portuguese immigrant, Vargas worked on the Martin Murphy, Jr. land that was to become Sunnyvale. After Murphy's death, the managing heir of that portion of land, Bernard Murphy, stipulated that Vargas could continue farming wheat in return for 25% of the crop. Vargas hauled his harvest to Jagle's Landing, near present-day Moffett Field, for water shipment to San Francisco because he could not afford the rail shipping rates. Much of the Murphy estate succumbed to the depression of the 1890s and Bernard Murphy sold two hundred acres to realtor Walter Crossman for $38,000. Antone Vargas purchased ten acres of his own from Crossman and built a house on Mary Avenue. After the turn of the century, Vargas planted apricot trees on his property to supply Libby Cannery. He supplemented his income by hauling gravel for the county's road-paving projects.[7]

Fruit Production

James Dawson established the first cannery in Santa Clara County in 1871. It was a small, family enterprise.

[7]James T. Vargas and Joanne Smith, "The Portuguese: Manuel Vargas," in City of Destiny, 45.

Others followed, primarily in order to save the cost of shipping to San Francisco. The new local canneries were able to compete with San Francisco canners because they could get the fruit to the cannery more quickly, resulting in less waste. The emerging canning industry in the valley kept the demand for fruit high and encouraged farmers to plant more trees. Drying fruit gained popularity with the discovery that a sulphur additive made the sun more effective at drying than costly evaporators. The introduction of the refrigerated rail car in 1888 also made fruit growing a more viable endeavor. Fruit orcharding and the canning industry grew up virtually side by side, establishing a mutual dependence.

The first fruit trees in Sunnyvale were planted in the kitchen garden of the Murphy estate for family consumption. With the breakup of the large estates and the shift away from the production of wheat, non-citrus fruit became the crop of choice. The fruit farmer of Sunnyvale had three choices to make in marketing his produce. He could sell the fruit fresh, either from his own property or to a distributor. He could dry the fruit, or sell it to a dryyard. Third, he could sell his produce to one of the local canneries.

Before each harvest the canneries sent buyers to the farms to negotiate the price to be paid for the fruit. If

the price was lower than the farmer was willing to take, he would consider his other options of drying the fruit or selling it fresh. Many farmers diversified their crops and grew apricots, prunes, and cherries as a hedge against a bad market for one particular fruit.

The California Canned Goods Association was established in 1885 in an attempt to regulate trade practices with Eastern markets. In 1899 the California Fruit Canners Association was formed, which was made up of eleven valley companies with 60% of the industry's output.[8] Farmers had already begun to plant specific crops to supply the demands of particular canneries.

Fruit cultivation was considerably more labor intensive than grain production. A California Department of Labor report issued in 1909 cited the "increased ratio of temporary help" necessary in fruit farming. The availability or lack of cheap, mobile, and temporary workers could make or break farmers.[9]

The success of the local canneries induced the farmers to produce more fruit. They needed a seasonal labor force to harvest their crops. Families alone could not meet the demand, so farmers turned to labor contractors to provide

[8]Patricia Zavella, Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 31.

[9]McWilliams, Factories in the Field, 65.

the fruit pickers. Farmers did not know their workers, and therefore did not feel responsible for the conditions in which laborers worked and lived. At the same time, workers felt very little allegiance to employers because they did not have a personal acquaintance. Migrant laborers were hired for less money than local residents, creating resentment toward migrants.

The 1890s saw heavy immigration from Italy, the Azores and Portugal. Many immigrants had been agricultural workers in their homeland. Some became tenant farmers and worked in the canneries on a seasonal basis. Most lived with relatives who had arrived earlier and had already purchased property. Eventually many were able to buy land for themselves, although they had to supplement their income by seasonal cannery work. Italians and Portuguese, therefore, were not long-term sources of cheap labor for the orchardists supplying the canneries with fruit.

Farmers preferred Asian laborers because they were organized into groups under Asian labor contractors. Larger numbers of workers could be hired with little effort by the farmer. In addition, Asians were prohibited by law to own land, and therefore could be relied upon as a labor force year after year. The growers preferred not to hire individual Anglo men because it would take too much effort

to hire a group. They also assumed that Anglo men would demand too much money.[10]

In 1890, there were twenty-seven Japanese men in Santa Clara County.[11] They were accepted only to fill the labor gap left by the decreasing number of Chinese. By 1900 there were several Japanese men living in the area of today's Sunnyvale. As was the case with the Chinese, there were almost no women. Interestingly enough, however, many men identified themselves as married, some for as long as thirty or forty years. Presumably their wives remained in Japan or Hawaii when they came to California in search of work.[12]

The movement from migratory labor to farm tenancy for the Japanese was the combined result of the establishment of families, group resistance to labor exploitation, and the formation of partnerships and collectives.[13] The Japanese were able to move from migrant labor to sharecropping and tenant farming in a relatively short period of time because their strikes were successful in garnering higher wages. The Japanese formed permanent communities because women arrived as "picture brides" after the turn of the century, which allowed the establishment of families. The Japanese

[10]Greenberg, "Industry in the Garden," 48.

[11]Lukes and Okihiro, Japanese Legacy, 19.

[12]Census Manuscript, 1900 and 1910.

[13]Lukes and Okihiro, Japanese Legacy, 5.

became increasingly independent when they sold their surplus crops directly to San Francisco, Sacramento, or Oakland markets via bay transportation from Alviso. In 1908 the Japanese tenant farmers at Agnew formed the Japanese Agricultural Alliance to establish social and economic solidarity among the Japanese of the Valley.[14] Other farmers resented the independence of the Japanese because it deprived them of a cheap source of labor.[15]

A town began to emerge around Murphy Station flagstop as a result of the dramatic shift from wheat production to family-owned commercial orchards. The community was comprised of small orchardists of diverse ethnic origin, cannery managers, and local merchants.

"City of Destiny"

Walter Crossman, a San Jose real estate agent, formed a stock company and purchased two hundred acres from Murphy heirs in 1897. Intending to create a "factory town," he laid out streets around Murphy Station on the Southern Pacific line. The first post office, called *Encinal* (live oak), was at Fred Cornell's general store at the corner of Murphy Avenue and Evelyn. The United States Postal

[14]Ibid., 69.

[15]J. Donald Fisher, "A Historical Study of the Migrant in California" (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1945; Reprinted San Francisco: R and E Associates, 1973), 9.

Department informed Cornell that the names "Murphy" and "Encinal" were already taken by other towns in California. Crossman is credited with re-naming the town "Sunnyvale" in 1901, as a ploy to lure citizens from foggy San Francisco. He dubbed this new town the "City of Destiny," reflecting his vision of the future Sunnyvale as a manufacturing center.

Walter Crossman advertised his recently acquired property in Bay Area newspapers, inviting potential buyers to a barbeque on the site and offering free train transportation. Hannah and Carl Olson, Swedish immigrants, responded to the advertisement. They purchased property on McKinley Avenue, between Taaffe and Murphy Avenues. Today their Olson descendants own the only remaining cherry orchard in Sunnyvale, a short distance from the original property on McKinley.[16]

The new town of Sunnyvale was comprised of the Encina school, and nearby, clustered close to the railroad tracks, a blacksmith shop and Cornell's general store with the post office. The postal boxes were held by R. Muender, H. Martens, B. D. Murphy (Bernard Murphy), T. Spencer and A. Schurra. Others received mail by general delivery.[17]

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[16]"The Last Farm," Valley Journal, 11 August 1988.

[17]Sunnyvale Standard, 6 June 1930.

Crossman achieved limited success with his new development project before the earthquake of 1906. One-acre lots for homes were sold for $150 to $200. The purchasers hired carpenters to build their houses.[18] The Trubschenck family, Danish immigrants, moved to Sunnyvale from San Francisco just after the turn of the century. The family opened the Pioneer Drug Store on Murphy Avenue. Their home was at Taaffe and Washington streets. Daughter Ida, affectionately called "Aunt Ida," became a renowned and beloved Sunnyvale citizen. She was the first postmistress and the first city clerk. She meticulously maintained the financial and public works records and all correspondence of the city for over forty years.[19]

Madison and Bonner Dried Fruit Packers built east of the railstop in 1904. The Jubilee Incubator Company, which specialized in poultry farm supplies, was east of Madison and Bonner. The Goldy Machine Company began to build in 1905, but suffered some earthquake damage and was delayed in opening.[20]

The San Francisco earthquake of 18 April 1906 was felt quite dramatically in Sunnyvale, although the damage was not

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[18]Jacobson, Passing Farms, 104.

[19]California History Center, City of Destiny, 21-22.

[20]Sanborn Map Company, 1908 Fire Insurance Map of Sunnyvale.

nearly as extensive as it was in more heavily populated areas of the Santa Clara Valley. The San Jose Mercury reported that in Sunnyvale "the principal damage was to the Goldy Machine Works. Its great smokestack lies in ruins and the buildings were badly shaken up."[21]

Mr. Crossman did not miss a beat in his campaign for a factory town. Four days after the earthquake he took out a half-page ad in the San Jose Mercury:

> Sunnyvale has gone through the late catastrophe in better shape than any town in Santa Clara county; therefore feel assured that the future for us is absolutely assured. Citizens of San Francisco will be coming our way for their homes and places of business. Already we have located a number of families from the stricken city. All of the cities and towns affected will be soon built; but Sunnyvale, being so situated that it was less affected, will reap a greater benefit, as new manufacturing plants and business houses will spring up immediately. Now is the time to be strong hearted, for the future of Sunnyvale is absolutely assured. Remember that opportunity has no place of [sic] knockers and that now is the time for every citizen to do his best. Yours for Sunnyvale, W. E. Crossman, President, Sunnyvale Land Company.[22]

Perhaps Crossman was seeking more to reassure himself and his stockholders than the citizens of Sunnyvale. He formed the first Chamber of Commerce in 1906. His post-earthquake development was accelerated because relocating businesses were given land free of charge. The newcomers included Libby, McNeill & Libby, Joshua Hendy Iron Works, and Hydro-

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[21]San Jose Mercury, 21 April 1906.

[22]Ibid., 22 April 1906.

Carbon Paint Company, along with a new Sunnyvale Bank established by Charles Spalding.

Reports in the development section of Sunset Magazine indicate that for the year 1907, $430,000 was expended for improvements by factories. Houses accounted for expenditures of $150,000, and $275,000 was spent for building lots. Total expenditures in Sunnyvale for 1907 were $996,700, indicating an active, growing community.[23]

At the end of 1906, Sunnyvale deeded thirty-two acres adjacent to the Southern Pacific rail line to Joshua Hendy Iron Works, a victim of the San Francisco earthquake. The firm's founder, Joshua Hendy, had been a gold rush immigrant and a highly successful nineteenth-century industrialist. He established a machine shop to produce mining equipment in San Francisco in 1856, where he invented the hydraulic gravel elevator and the Hydraulic Giant Monitor which virtually replaced placer mining. The business thrived, expanding to three buildings before Hendy's death in 1891. Nephews Samuel and John Hendy took over manufacturing operations, which included a high-pressure water nozzle, similar to the Giant Monitor, which was used in dam construction and in building the Panama Canal. Public works hardware such as water plugs and lamp standards were among other Hendy products.

[23]Sunset Magazine, Development Section, February 1908.

All three San Francisco buildings of the Hendy Iron Works were destroyed by fire in the 1906 earthquake and Samuel Hendy lost his life. John Hendy responded to Walter Crossman's invitation to earthquake victims and relocated his manufacturing business in Sunnyvale. John Hendy's mother-in-law lived in nearby San Jose, which was another reason he agreed to move south.[24] However, the sales and contracts office of Joshua Hendy Iron Works remained in San Francisco.

The Sunnyvale plant was operational by the end of 1907. The main building, a machine shop and assembly room, was an eighth of a mile long, but even that could not accommodate some of the more sizable products. Some mining equipment and engine components had to be assembled outside. The foundry was almost 50,000 square feet and was the largest on the West Coast for many years.[25]

Libby, McNeill & Libby began construction on a fruit cannery about three-quarters of a mile west of the rail station in 1906, just after the earthquake. The firm was a meat-packing company based in Chicago that had recently expanded its products to include canned milk. The Sunnyvale plant, Libby's first venture into canned fruits and

[24]George F. Gayer, "The Iron Men of Hendy," ed. Vernita Eubank and James Van de Erve, Westinghouse pamphlet file #1 in Silicon Valley Library, 1985, 6.

[25]Ibid.

vegetables, offered easy access to fruit, a railway connection, and a potential labor force. Libby, McNeill & Libby rapidly became the largest employer in Sunnyvale.

Sunnyvale Canneries, east of the town center, also built and opened in 1907. George Hooke, hired as president, had been the director of the Los Gatos Canneries. In a typical season, Sunnyvale Canneries employed four hundred people and shipped seventy-four carloads of fresh cherries to be turned into maraschinos.[26]

Women workers predominated in the canneries in Sunnyvale. As early as the 1870s, the canneries were actively recruiting women. By 1900, 70% of the county cannery labor force was female. The work was seasonal, but so intensive that it disrupted traditional domestic roles for women and men. The Sunnyvale Standard reflected the local attitude when a male reporter observed that "work at the cannery occupies the time of a large percent of the female population of the town. Result--many a man has to do the cooking!"[27]

In 1911, a California statute limited women to working an eight-hour day in most industries. The law did not apply, however, to agricultural and canning industries. Many women did not want protective legislation because they

[26]Sunset, February 1908.

[27]Sunnyvale Standard, 2 June 1908

feared it would limit their income. The seasonal nature of their work meant that they might work fourteen-hour days for two months and then not work again for six months. By World War I, women earned about $1.60 per day. For children the pay was from $.50 to $1.00, and for men of any ethnic group it was $2.50 per day.[28] Men employed by the canneries either worked as canners or in cook rooms. Women cut the fruit and worked on the packing lines.

Incorporation

A special election was held in Sunnyvale on 10 December 1912 which resulted in the incorporation of the town on 24 December 1912. Proponents of incorporation said that the town would enjoy greater exposure at the state, county, and regional levels. The plan outlined specific boundaries for the incorporated area, which included a narrow strip of land extending from the town's center to the Bay. The Chamber of Commerce, led by Walter Crossman, claimed that this narrow connection to the Bay would enable the town to establish "Port Sunnyvale." The port was perceived as an incentive to industrial leaders to locate their businesses in Sunnyvale. It would also increase commerce between the town and other ports of call on San Francisco Bay.

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[28]Greenberg, "Industry in the Garden," 120.

The opposition was led by S. N. Goldy, vice-president of Goldy Machine Company. He claimed incorporation would increase taxes for the townspeople. Other opponents suggested that Sunnyvale, which was a "dry" town, would go "wet" if incorporation was implemented. In reality, the "dry" district boundaries would have remained the same regardless of the outcome of the election. This argument, however, persuaded some residents to vote against incorporation. Ironically, the local temperance group was not convinced by the argument, and it favored incorporation.

Libby's and Hendy Iron Works gave their workers time off work with pay to encourage them to vote in favor of incorporation. Presumably Goldy Machine Company did the same for the opposition. There were 248 votes cast in favor of incorporation and 102 opposed. The first mayor was Mr. H. R. Fuller who earned one more vote than O. E. Linden. Ida Trubschenck was elected city clerk, banker Charles Spalding treasurer, and W. B. McNeil became Sunnyvale's first Marshal.[29] A Standard editorialist was clearly in favor of incorporation:

> Tuesday's election has shown to the world that Sunnyvale understood the knock of Opportunity at her door and that she has extended the glad hand of welcome. The count of ballots has proven that full three-fourths of her citizens have red blood in their veins and that they

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[29]"'City of Destiny' Votes to Become Incorporated," San Jose Mercury, 11 December 1912.

> will henceforth move her wheels of progress steadily onward to a glorious destiny.[30]

Incorporation and the growth that occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century set Sunnyvale on course for future industrial development.

Although Crossman continually extolled the town, it was never the overwhelming success that he had hoped. In 1915 he sold his holdings and retired to Southern California. There was some criticism of Crossman in Sunnyvale. A 1913 editorial accused Crossman of greatly exaggerating the financial statement of Joshua Hendy Iron Works to the stockholders of the Sunnyvale Land Company: "this land company [Crossman's] has, not only in this instance, but in times past, issued these false statements at the expense of legitimate manufacturers."[31] The editorialist was specifically concerned that when the actual financial condition of Hendy Iron Works came to light, the public would wonder if other companies' records were exaggerated and they would be subject to unwarranted suspicion.

During World War I, the Iron Works produced 2,800 horse-power, triple expansion reciprocating steam engines for cargo ships. These state-of-the-art engines earned an international reputation for the Sunnyvale plant. The Iron Works ran shifts twenty-four hours a day. The work force

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[30]Sunnyvale Standard, 13 December 1912

[31]Sunnyvale Sun, 31 January 1913.

jumped to five hundred men per shift in the production of naval equipment.[32]

After the war, Hendy's built crawler tractors, freight car wheel pullers, water wheels and large water contol valves for Hoover Dam, and parts for dredges and diesel engines. It employed far fewer workers than during wartime, but remained a viable and well-equipped manufacturing company.[33]

Immigrants: Japanese, Spanish, Chinese and Filipino

The Alien Land Laws of 1913 which disallowed alien land ownership attempted to curtail the independence of Japanese farmers. Some who has been tenant farmers moved to urban areas to try to make a better living. Some were able to buy land in an American-born child's name or in the name of a corporation to get around the law.[34] Tsunegusu Yonemoto was one Sunnyvale man who purchased his Murphy Avenue property in 1915 in the name of his son, Fred Yonemoto. The family owned the Yonemoto Carnation Nursery.[35] The Immigration Act of 1924 put an end to Japanese immigration and worked to

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[32]Gayer, "Iron Men of Hendy," 9.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Chan, Bittersweet Soil, 420.

[35]"Historic Sunnyvale Figures Compete for Spot on Museum Wall," Valley Journal, 21 September 1986, 6.

suppress the competition posed by successful Japanese farmers. By this time, the Japanese had grown beyond their status as migrant laborers. They no longer supplied the needed labor force. More significantly, they had become active competitors in the fruit industry.

A Spanish enclave developed in Sunnyvale and Mountain View by 1916. A large group of families had sailed from Spain to work in the sugar cane fields of Hawaii. Promises of land grants proved false. James Gil, the son of one of the Spanish immigrants, recalled his disillusionment with Hawaii:

> According to my dad, when the ship arrived in Honolulu, they herded all of the Spaniards to a fumigation plant. They all stripped down and were fumigated with chemicals. . . . Looking back, a lot of the Spaniards were promised that if they stayed five years, they would get an acre of land, plus the house they were living in. I haven't heard to this day of anyone getting the acre promised.[36]

Two dissatisfied men left Hawaii and went to work in orchards in Sunnyvale. They notified their countrymen in Hawaii of the better working conditions, and the group transplanted itself to the Sunnyvale-Mountain View area.[37]

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[36]Mountain View Public Library, ed., Bittersweet: Memories of Old Mountain View, Vol. II: The Spanish, Oral History Project (Mountain View: Mountain View Public Library, 1980), 83-85.

[37]Judy Esteban, "The Spanish in Sunnyvale" (Research paper, De Anza College, 1974), 3.

When young California men were called to fight in World War I, farmers complained that the restrictions against Asian immigration to California left them without a labor force. The government urged farmers to produce as full a crop as possible. The farmers argued that they should only produce what they and their families could harvest because the cost of labor was so high. They lobbied for permitting Chinese laborers into the country as farm workers. A Sunnyvale Standard editorial called for "contracts with coolie brokers. . . for three years at a fixed wage rate, and at the end of their term . . . [they should be] returned to their native land." The writer continued that "Japanese laborers could not be managed so easily, and once here they would become colonists and remain" which was completely undesirable.[38]

Filipinos first arrived in Sunnyvale and began working in the fields in 1923. They commanded the lowest wages of any immigrant group. Laws against interracial marriage applied to Filipinos as well as the Chinese and Japanese until the passage of the War Brides Act after the Second World War. The landownership restrictions kept Sunnyvale Filipinos from buying property. Growers preferred that Filipinos return to the Philippines when their economic usefulness expired. Filipinos had a legal status that

[38]Sunnyvale Standard, 1917.

protected them from deportation because the Philippine Islands were a United States territory, making the workers U.S. nationals.

In the summer of 1930, Sunnyvale growers received letters threatening them not to hire Filipinos which said: "Let go your Filipino help, or we'll burn you out." A fire set at the Gallimore ranch in August burned several workers' cabins. Nineteen-year-old Joaquin Somera was killed in the fire, but the county coroner ruled that the victim was "probably accidentally burned." Filipino labor contractors said two contracts for 120 workers were cancelled that summer and two hundred Filipino workers at canneries were let go.[39]

Growers and Laborers

Labor disputes erupted at the canneries in neighboring San Jose and Santa Clara in July of 1917. Cannery workers struck, with the support of the agricultural workers' union, Toilers of the World. Tons of fruit rotted on the trees and the canneries came to a standstill. County business leaders were convinced that "outside agitators" were conspiring to destroy their crops. They bypassed the governor and demanded federal troops to guard the canneries. The strike did not spread to Sunnyvale, but it did scare the town's

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[39]Ibid., 15 August 1930.

canners and growers. They did not want any interference in meeting increased demand for canned fruit during World War I. The growers and canners hoped the war would permanently expand the market for their product and they began nutrition education campaigns to encourage the general public to buy canned fruits and vegetables.

Farmers Union Corporation, a growers' cooperative which had been formed in San Jose in 1874, had some Sunnyvale members. The National Grange had a chapter in Sunnyvale beginning in 1915. These cooperatives helped the farmers protect themselves against the canners, shippers and distributors "so that David could have at least a toehold against Goliath."[40] The farmers sought more control over marketing their product. After the strikes in the neighboring towns in the summer of 1917, Sunnyvale growers and town officials saw the need for a local growers' cooperative.

The growers in Sunnyvale were soundly criticized for not forming cooperatives sooner. The Standard editorialist connected the benefits to the growers with benefits to laborers and to the community; the town would enjoy greater stability and be less susceptible to outside influences or agitation.

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[40]Jacobson, Passing Farms, 165.

> Farmers are recognized to be the slowest people on earth to get together for mutual protection. . . ; the higher cost of living for the laborer must be taken into consideration. . . resulting in a better standard of living for all if some benefit is passed on to the laborers.[41]

The Sunnyvale Chamber of Commerce and the local growers met in December of 1917 to discuss establishing a packinghouse for the Prune and Apricot Growers' Association in order to eliminate the "middleman." Outspoken local advocates included banker C. C. Spalding, suffragist Mrs. Sophie Durst, and local businessman Mr. L. H. Vishoot.[42]

In 1922, Libbys limited the workday for employees under age eighteen to eight hours. Adults had a ten-hour workday, and except for those who worked on the sorting belt, were paid a piece rate. Employees who failed to meet the piecework quota were sent home, which was particularly difficult for older workers. Younger workers preferred the piece-rate system because they would be paid more for harder work. However, the higher wage for more work was a double-edged sword because faster work set new speed standards, causing more pressure for the workers.[43]

Workers were never hired for a season. They were hired for a particular fruit. This system "kept you a debtor," as

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[41]Sunnyvale Standard, 24 August 1917.

[42]Ibid., 7 December 1917.

[43]Glenna Matthews, "The Fruit Workers of the Santa Clara Valley: Alternative Paths to Union Organization During the 1930s," Pacific Historical Review 54 (February 1985): 55.

former cannery worker Elizabeth Nicholas recalled. There was no permanence or job security. The worker could not make any complaints if she wanted to be hired for the next fruit. There was simply no other work to be had, particularly for women and older people who were not hired at Hendy Iron Works.[44] Until the formation of a union in 1937, workers were either hired for the duration of a "pack" or had to line up every morning to hear if they would work that day.[45]

Some Sunnyvale Personalities

Mrs. Edwina Benner, a Sunnyvale native and active local citizen, was employed as office manager for Libby, McNeill, & Libby. Elected to the town council in 1920, she became the first woman mayor, not only in Sunnyvale, but also in all of California. Her term as mayor began in 1924, and she served in that capacity once again in the late 1930s. Mrs. Benner served on the town council from 1920 to 1948.[46]

Immigrants Luka and Kate (Grcich) Pavlina met and married in Sunnyvale in 1922. Luka (anglicized Louis) was from a small town outside Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast.

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[44]California History Center, Elizabeth Nicholas: Libby's Cannery Workers' Project, produced by De Anza College, 45 min., De Anza College, 1984, videocassette.

[45]Matthews, "Fruit Workers," 53.

[46]Obituary, n.d., Clippings file, Sunnyvale Public Library.

Kate was from the village of Majhovi in present-day Yugoslavia. They struggled financially until they were able to purchase five acres of orchard for $8,000 at El Camino Real and Mary Avenue. For a while, they worked the land themselves, and even made their own wine. They socialized with other Eastern European immigrants including the Vidovich and Sevely families. By the 1930s, the Pavlinas needed more help than their family and friends could provide, so they hired migrant "Okies" and Mexicans to help harvest their annual fruit crop.[47]

Sam and Nina (D'Amico) Monforte bought forty acres of land at Evelyn and Mary Avenues just after they were married in 1926. Sam, an immigrant from Sicily, had earned money as a bricklayer in San Francisco after the earthquake. For the first several years, the couple could not afford to hire any help and they worked the land themselves, primarily growing prunes. Nina, a seamstress by trade, told her grandchildren that she went overnight from making clothes for the wealthy ladies of Stockton, going to work in white kid gloves and four-inch French heels, to driving a tractor![48]

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[47]Carole Pavlina, "The Yugoslavs: The Harvest of a `Poor Man's Paradise'" in City of Destiny, 28.

[48]Edward Fassett, S.J., Conversation with the author, 9 and 19 February 1991.

CONCLUSION

By the early twentieth century, the area which became Sunnyvale had been transformed from a vast wheat-producing estate to a community of fruit orchardists supplying the emerging canning industry. The fruit markets began to expand with more accessible rail shipping; growth continued through World War I and up to the Depression. Expanding markets fostered the commercialization of fruit orchards in Sunnyvale. Greater numbers of cheap laborers were needed on a seasonal basis for both the canneries and the farms.

Other business activity in Sunnyvale was minor compared to the production of fruit. The Chamber of Commerce, primarily led by Walter Crossman, wanted to build the "City of Destiny." Their attempts to lure non-agricultural industry and diversify the economy attracted only a few companies; the most notable was Joshua Hendy Iron Works. The proposed "Port Sunnyvale," an anticipated panacea for economic doldrums, was never built.

The seasonal nature of farm and cannery work resulted in both social and economic instability. The town's population doubled during the summer and the extra people lived in cannery cabins or tents pitched in the orchards. The lack of permanence caused problems for the canneries, the farmers, the workers and the town.

Immigrants poured into the Valley and specifically Sunnyvale. They, however, "were neither the cause nor the primary beneficiaries of the new agricultural relationships."[49] Some ethnic groups, such as the Portuguese, the Spanish and Italians, were able to tenant farm and work in canneries, eventually buying their own property to grow fruit and join the cycle of production. Attempts were made to systematically drive out the Japanese and Filipinos, either by force or by law. The Japanese became unwanted competition for other farmers. Filipinos were perceived as taking jobs away from others because they accepted low wages from the farmers.

The Sunnyvale of 1930 was a farming community of working-class people of a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Asian immigrants were not an accepted part of the community as European immigrants were. By 1930, the city officials and merchants recognized that the total dependence of the town economy on agriculture was not desirable. Steps were taken once again to draw outside industry, specifically the United States Navy with its new dirigible air fleet.

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[49]Greenberg, "Industry in the Garden", 130.

CHAPTER 3

DEPRESSION YEARS AND WORLD WAR II

The economic and social disruption of the Depression, with the upheaval of World War II following closely on its heels, had lasting consequences for California, the San Francisco Bay Area, and thus for Sunnyvale. The Depression and War eras mark the beginning of active solicitation of and economic dependence on military contracts and the business of war. It also marks the beginning of the end of family-run commercial orchards in Santa Clara County.

The Depression exacerbated tense labor relations in Sunnyvale canneries and orchards. Some farmers lost their land, while others were able to maintain it only by paying exceedingly low wages to dust bowl migrants and immigrant laborers. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1930s, unions were firmly entrenched among cannery workers and fruit packers in Santa Clara County.

Sunnyvale and Santa Clara County officials joined the regional effort to convince the United States Navy to locate their new lighter-than-air fleet in the Sunnyvale area. The three-year campaign resulted in the establishment of NAS-Sunnyvale, which was commissioned in 1933. The dirigible program was soon scrapped, however, after both the USS *Akron* and USS *Macon* crashed. The beginning of World War II

created new military demands for the base, and it generated defense contracts of all sorts.

During World War II, one-and-a-half million military personnel passed through the Port of San Francisco on their way to or from the war in the Pacific. One ramification was that men from all areas of the United States saw California for the first time, and many came back after the war to live. Besides servicemen, thousands of defense industry workers came to the Bay area, and specifically to Sunnyvale to work at Joshua Hendy Iron Works.

Japanese citizens in Sunnyvale, as in other cities and towns in the West, were forced to leave their homes for internment camps. The Sunnyvale Standard reflected the national attitide of hate toward Japanese, and Japanese-Americans. A few found their property intact when they returned after the war, but most had to completely reestablish themselves.

The demands of the war industry drew workers away from the orchards and canneries. Efforts to keep the fruit business afloat included government sanctioned and regulated import of Mexican *braceros* to work in the orchards and in the canneries. The subsequent legal status of these workers became the subject of debate for the next twenty years.

Expectations that things in Sunnyvale would "return to normal" after the war proved unrealistic. The technological

advances achieved during the war dramatically changed the type of industrial production in the Sunnyvale area. The postwar population explosion prevented the town from continuing on the same course it had chosen before the war.

The Depression

In 1930, Sunnyvale's population was 3,094. Eighty-eight individuals were identified on the census as non-white; presumably they were Asians, since five Black individuals were listed separately. Half of the total population claimed foreign-born parents, while 25% were foreign-born white residents. Foreign or native birth for non-whites is not stipulated in the data.[1]

The summer population, however, jumped as high as 6,500. This population fluctuation caused two problems for Sunnyvale which were faced by many other agricultural communities dependent on a seasonal labor force. First, if the population did not jump in the summer, who would harvest, dry or can the fruit? Second, if laborers did come for the summer, where would they live? Sunnyvale Canneries (which was purchased by Niles-based Schuckl Cannery in 1925) and Libbys supplied housing on their property, building cabins and cottages for their seasonal workers. Migrant

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[1]United States Census, Population, Published Reports, California, Santa Clara County, 1930.

farm workers in Sunnyvale were generally not provided with housing and very often camped in tents in the orchards.

According to Elizabeth Nicholas, a union organizer and worker at Libbys, management gave imported workers from the San Joaquin Valley priority in employment because they lived on site. Local people who wanted to work in the canneries felt that the "imports" got preferential treatment.[2] Nicholas, an avowed communist, tried to organize the cannery workers and establish a charter with the AFL. Organizing committees were formed at twenty-eight valley canneries. Nicholas was fired because of her political affiliation and because she was a union organizer.[3] The growers swayed public opinion in their favor by stressing the link between the union organizers and the Communist Party.[4] By 1939, however, the cannery workers in Sunnyvale were successful in establishing a union under the AFL umbrella, while the dried fruit packers organized with the CIO.

Dust Bowl Immigrants

In the 1930s, two-and-a-half million people came to California, primarily from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana, because of depressed crop prices and an extended

[2]California History Center, Elizabeth Nicholas, videocassette.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Matthews, "Fruit Workers," 58.

drought in that region. Californians were not happy about this influx of people and they did not want the impoverished migrants to take scarce Depression-era jobs. By 1935, United States Agricultural Department checkpoints began to stop vehicles in an effort to determine if the occupants had jobs waiting for them. From 1 July 1935 until the end of 1938, 65,000 people in vehicles with Oklahoma license plates entered the state in search of employment.[5]

The popular image of the dust bowl migrants, perpetuated by the press, was that of a landowning farm family displaced by drought and depression. A 1938 Department of Agriculture study of 6,655 migrant households in California determined that only 3.7% had ever owned land, and almost 12% reported no agricultural background whatsoever. Some of the migrants had been tenant farmers or sharecroppers, but many were from urban areas.[6]

Historian Gerald Nash, in his work on postwar transformation of the West, says that the non-agricultural background of the "Okies" was a contributing factor to their success in manufacturing jobs during World War II. Nash claimed that the dust bowl migrants were well suited to an

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[5]Fisher, "A Historical Study of the Migrant in California," 26.

[6]Ibid., 29.

urban setting because many had been shopkeepers and tradesmen.[7]

During the Depression, many Sunnyvale farmers hired migrant workers to harvest their apricots, prunes and cherries. Peter Pavlina, son of Eastern European immigrants, recalled looking forward to the arrival each harvest season of the "Okie" or Mexican migrant workers. Carole Pavlina's essay in Sunnyvale: City of Destiny describes how the migrants brought their children each season, new playmates for Pavlina. "The workers didn't always live in a tent or a cabin, but . . . they would build houses out of fruit trays which they could live in comfortably if it didn't rain."[8] Pavlina's description offers insight into the makeshift living arrangements of the Mexican and "Okie" orchard workers in Sunnyvale in the 1930s.

Hendy Iron Works During the Depression

In the early thirties, Joshua Hendy Iron Works was purchased from the Hendy family by a German-Jewish immigrant, Mr. Bennerman. The Works produced giant gates and valves for both the Grand Coulee and Boulder Dams.

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[7]Gerald D. Nash, The American West Transformed: the Impact of the Second World War (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), 9.

[8]Pavlina, "The Yugoslavs," in City of Destiny, 29.

Bennerman attempted to keep the plant open through the Depression, even though contracts were few. A former worker explained:

> Old timers recall how fortunate they were to be able to keep busy on their nearby farms and orchards while they waited to be summoned back to work. When the whistle tooted vigorously during the day, they knew a new order had been received and they hurried back to the plant and their machines, ready to see what was to be done.[9]

Bennerman lost the Iron Works to the Bank of California in the late 1930s. The Bank kept the plant running until it was purchased in 1940.

Naval Air Station Sunnyvale

During the 1920s, United States Navy Rear Admiral William A. Moffett wanted the Navy to develop a lighter-than-air fleet like the German aircraft-spotting Zeppelins encountered by United States forces during World War I. Two German airships were among war reparations from Germany, and along with two larger American-made ships, the *Akron* and *Macon*, comprised the new American fleet.

The two dirigibles were rigid airships, built with a vast aluminum framework and covered with a light-weight fabric. The massive airships, almost identical in design, measured 785 feet in length with a maximum diameter of 132.9 feet. The cavity of the dirigibles held ten separate gas cells with capacity of 6,500,000 cubic feet for helium to

[9]Gayer, "Iron Men of Hendy," 13.

raise the ship. The nose sections held water ballasts which would be dumped to accelerate ascent.[10]

The dirigibles acted as flying aircraft carriers and five Sparrowhawk fighter biplanes fit in the cavernous belly. A giant "T" hatch opened from the bottom and a crane-like "trapeze" lifted the planes in and out of the mother ship. The long-range scouts would return from a mission and hover below the hatch until the "trapeze" lifted them inside. The next plane would follow the same procedure.[11]

The control car, which hung from the underside of the dirigible, contained the navigational equipment, passenger seats and tables, bathrooms, and a kitchen. Windows completely surrounded the control car, and passengers enjoyed incredible views. The crew, as many as ninety, were housed within the mighty structure. Five 12-cylinder, 600-horsepower engines with attached propellers powered the dirigibles. Each was housed in a "gondola" large enough to accommodate the two required crew members' need to make any necessary in-flight repairs. Four fins, accessible from the inside of the dirigible, extended outside to provide steering. Electrically lighted internal walkways, engine

[10]Basil Clarke, The History of Airships (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1961), 153.

[11]Joshua Stoff, Dirigibles (New York: Antheneum, 1985), 49, 81.

and airplane hatches, and the crew quarters were all part of the floating ship.[12]

The Navy sought a West Coast location in addition to their Lakehurst, New Jersy base. The Bureau of Aeronautics, under Admiral Moffett, analyzed ninety-seven possible sites. The choice was narrowed down to two: Camp Kearney in San Diego and a thousand-acre site in Santa Clara County, the former Rancho Ynigo. The process of choosing between San Diego and Santa Clara County lasted three years.

The San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce spearheaded the Northern California campaign to persuade the Navy to locate its new base in Santa Clara County. It convinced Chambers of Commerce in San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose of the base's benefits to the Bay Area economy. Mrs. Laura Whipple of Niles, California, was an ardent advocate of Sunnyvale for the airbase. She is credited with identifying the specific location, and she persuaded the various chambers to join her endorsement of the site.[13] The San Francisco Chamber pledged to raise a half-million dollars to purchase the property so that the Sunnyvale site could be competitive with the San Diego base that had been

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[12]Ibid., 30, 32, 45.

[13]Times Tribune, Moffett-1989 (Palo Alto: Times Tribune, 1989), 4.

offered to the federal government for $1.[14] Fund-raising campaigns netted contributions from every town in the Bay Area. San Jose pledged to raise $60,000 of the $100,000 quota for the county. Several county businessmen formed the Santa Clara Consolidated Air Base Committee to manage the fund drive, and local banker Charles Spalding represented Sunnyvale.[15]

A promotional film made for the Navy brass to highlight the advantages of a Sunnyvale airbase featured foctage of Sunnyvale and the 1,000 acres as seen from the Bay and the air. Promoters realized the film would rally citizen support for the proposed base and, at the same time, raise the needed cash. Residents flocked to local theaters to see the film, and proceeds went to the fund-raising effort. On 23 May 1930, the promotional film was shown at the Strand Theatre on Murphy Avenue in Sunnyvale, raising seventy dollars.[16]

In the spring of 1930, representatives of the Chambers of Commerce of San Francisco and San Jose as well as the San Francisco Junior Chamber and the San Francisco Chronicle

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[14]Spencer Gleason, Naval Air Station Moffett Field California: Silver Anniversary 1933-1958 (San Francisco: Globe, 1958), 5.

[15]"Airbase Finance Plan Undertaken," n.d., clipping file, Whipple/Thane Collection, California History Center.

[16]Sunnyvale Standard, 20 June 1930.

went to Washington, D.C. to urge Congress to approve the proposed base at Sunnyvale. Colonel Charles Lindbergh appeared at a secret session of a House Committee and supported Sunnyvale as the location of a new airbase and aeronautical research center.[17]

Word that the Sunnyvale site had been chosen reached Santa Clara County on 12 December 1930. Schools and businesses closed as impromptu parades formed. The placement of the base in the county would, people hoped, bring relief from financial hardships.

With the land purchased, Representative Arthur Free of San Jose introduced a bill in Congress to authorize the acceptance of the land offer and approve the expenditure of an additional $5 million for structures and development. The bill passed and was signed by President Hoover on 20 February 1931. The land was transfered to the United States Navy for the cost of $1 on 31 July 1931.[18]

The location of the Naval Air Base in Sunnyvale met with very little opposition in Santa Clara County. The 1,000-acre site was actually located halfway between the towns of Sunnyvale and Mountain View. Early proponents suggested it be called Naval Air Station Mountain View-

[17]"Lindy Urges Sunnyvale: Station to Cost 4 Million," n.d., clipping file, Whipple/Thane Collection, California History Center.

[18]Gleason, Naval Air Station Moffett Field, 5.

Sunnyvale, but Navy officials thought that the word "mountain" in the name would conjure images of mountainous peaks in the minds of Congressmen and would call into question flight safety in the area. In order to dispel any mental pictures of mountains, the Navy referred to the site as NAS Sunnyvale, a more pastoral-sounding name.

Bay Area communities felt proud of their combined effort. Their enthusiasm was in part due to their victory over Southern California in the competition for the site. The regional organizing effort, a first for the Bay Area, met with success and Santa Clara Consolidated Air Base Committee chairman, Wendell Thomas, noted that

> for the first time in the history of Northern California, we have learned the lesson of cooperation, and having learned this and profited by it greatly, it is certain we will act as a unit in the future on matters for the common good.[19]

In 1932, Arthur Free introduced another bill in Congress to appropriate $295,000 for an additional 700 acres adjacent to NAS Sunnyvale for an airplane landing field.[20] Ground-breaking was in October 1931, and by the end of 1932, Hanger One was complete along with several other buildings. Hanger One stood eighteen stories high, and the floor covered eight acres. Construction cost $2,250,000; the mooring masts alone cost $25,000. Hangar One, the elongated

[19]Times Tribune, Moffett-1989, 4.

[20]San Francisco Chronicle, 6 Jan 1932.

dome which had "orange peel" doors mounted on tracks, looked like a futuristic space station when the doors smoothly glided to open or close. The gigantic hangar, with its curved walls and ceilings, caused optical illusions and a feeling of disorientation for visitors.[21]

Naval Air Station Sunnyvale was commissioned by the Navy on 12 April 1933. On April 4th, however, the *Akron* crashed off the New Jersey coast. Only three of the seventy-six men aboard survived. Not only was the "fleet" instantly cut in half by this accident, but the most experienced personnel were lost as well. Rear Admiral William Moffett, Aeronautics Chief, perished in the *Akron* crash. It was a crushing blow to the fledgling dirigible program.

The next month, on May 18, NAS Sunnyvale was renamed Moffett Field Naval Air Station in honor of Admiral Moffett. The *Macon* arrived at Moffett Field on 16 October 1933. People from surrounding towns gathered to get a glimpse of the airship. For the next eighteen months, the *Macon* was a familiar sight in the skies over Santa Clara County as it went in and out for manuevers.

Playwright Luis Valdez, the son of Mexican farmworkers laboring in a tomato field near Sunnyvale, remembered seeing

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[21]Gleason, Naval Air Station Moffett Field, 6.

an airship in the sky when he was six years old:

> At that instant, something caught my eye, and I looked up at the sky. My cry came out as I spotted this huge blimp heading for one of those giant hangars at Moffett Field. . . it was a magical place, with airships floating through the sky and landing. Even as a farmworker, as a child, I felt privileged to be in this magic land.[22]

However, local sightings of the floating ships were shortlived. The *Macon* crashed off the Monterey coast on 12 February 1935. Its descent to the sea was slow, enabling most of the crew to survive. All but two of the eighty-one person crew were rescued. According to dirigible historians, the *Macon* crash could have been avoided if the upper rudder fin had been reinforced when the problem was first recognized. Basil Clarke noted that proper repairs

> would have meant grounding the ship for two months and this was considered to be unnecessary. Instead, the reinforced girders were put in piecemeal as and when opportunity offered, with the result that when *Macon* left the Naval Air Station at Sunnyvale, Calif., on 11th February 1935, to take part in a series of maneuvers over the Pacific both the elevator fins and the lower rudder fin had been strengthened but the upper rudder fin had not.[23]

The loss of the *Macon* in 1935 left America with one surviving dirigible, the German-made *Los Angeles*. When Germany's hydrogen-filled *Hindenberg* burned at Lakehurst,

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[22]Luis Valdez, "Envisioning California," California History, (Winter 1989/90): 162.

[23]Clarke, History of Airships, 155.

New Jersey in 1936, the lighter-than-air program completely collapsed.

The Navy traded Moffett Field to the Army in return for the Army's North Island base in San Diego on 25 October 1935,[24] and the base was renamed "Moffett Field Army Air Corps Base." It was while Moffett Field was under jurisdiction of the Army that the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA) opened its research facility, which was named Ames Aeronautical Laboratory in honor of Dr. Joseph Ames, past president of Johns Hopkins University and former Chairman of NACA.[25]

The outbreak of war initiated coastal patrols by the Navy to search for enemy submarines and mines. Non-rigid airships were the best means of patrolling, and Moffett Field's huge hangars, which were under-utilized by the Army, could easily house the blimps. On 15 April 1942 the base was returned to the Navy and recommissioned NAS Moffett Field.

NACA continued flight research, building wind tunnels to test airplane drag, antiturbulence devices, dive control, and de-icing techniques despite a personnel shortage during

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[24]Edwin P. Hartman, Adventures in Research: A History of Ames Research Center 1940-1965, NASA Center History Series (Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1970), 24.

[25]Ibid., 30.

the war. The fighting airplanes that helped win the war were maintained and improved with the help of Ames Laboratory. Their new designs came out toward the end of the war, and set America on the path toward the supersonic age.[26]

Braceros

With the onset of World War II, the demand of the military and defense industries created serious labor shortages for California agriculture. The United States government, in cooperation with the Mexican government, negotiated wages and conditions for Mexican contract workers. The *Bracero* Program (literally "arms," referring to manual labor) was intended to be in effect for the duration of the war, but was extended until 1964 under Public Law 78 (1951). The Secretary of Labor had the authority to import and export Mexican workers as needed. The availability of workers provided by the *Bracero* Program gave growers the leverage to keep wages low.[27]

Negotiation of wages was carried out at first by the Farm Security Administration, and later by the War Food Administration. Efforts were made to mollify the labor

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[26]Ibid., 111, 113.

[27]Ernesto Galarza, Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story (Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, Publishers, 1964), 9-11.

unions that opposed importation of Mexican laborers, but in reality, the federal government actively controlled wage levels and labor under the guise of preserving the agricultural economy in the West. It was "a modern version of the seventeenth-century practice of indentured servitude."[28]

Impoverished conditions in Mexico and the availability of jobs for untrained workers in California led to the immigration of Mexican workers. Cannery work was the main reason Mexicans migrated to Santa Clara County. Mexican cannery workers in Santa Clara County earned less than other ethnic groups. After the war, Mexicans who remained in the county moved to more urban areas because of mechanization in canneries and the decline in available farm work.[29]

Japanese Internment

A month after Pearl Harbor was attacked, Japanese-Americans and "enemy aliens" in Sunnyvale were directed to surrender personal property that was considered war-related. The items included:

> firearms, weapons or implements of war or component parts thereof, ammunition, bombs, explosives or material used in the manufacture of explosives, shortwave radio

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[28]Nash, American West Transformed, 51.

[29]Zavella, Women's Work, 8-9.

receiving sets, transmitting sets, signal devices, codes or ciphers and cameras.[30]

Former Fremont High School student and football player Ben Aihara enlisted in the Army a few days after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Aihara, the American-born son of Japanese immigrants, reported for training at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. Racist sentiment toward local Japanese residents pervaded Sunnyvale even though Japanese-American men joined the United States armed forces. The town passed a formal resolution proclaiming its distrust of the Japanese and its desire to "permanently exclude them from the state of California." This resolution remained on the books in Sunnyvale until 1989, when local Japanese-Americans brought it to the attention of the City Council.[31]

Many residents of Sunnyvale felt that their town would be a particular target for Japanese attack because of nearby Moffett Field, the armament production at Hendy Iron Works, and the makeshift Army recruit training grounds at Fremont High School and on some former orchard property. Fear of attack perpetuated anti-Japanese feeling.

Early in 1942 curfew rules were enforced in Sunnyvale. "All Japanese, Germans, Italians and persons of Japanese

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[30]Sunnyvale Standard, 9 January 1942.

[31]Tom Philp and Lisa Lapin, "To Right a Wrong," San Jose Mercury News, n.d., clippings file "Minorities," Sunnyvale Public Library.

ancestry residing in Sunnyvale must be within their place of residence between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. daily."[32] The justification for separation of Japanese-Americans from their possessions, property, and the community was the supposed likelihood of a Japanese attack on the West Coast and fear of spying, sabotage, and other acts of "disloyalty."

By the end of May 1942, Japanese-Americans were ordered to internment camps for the duration of the war. Ben Aihara's parents were interned while their son served in the United States Army. Some of Sunnyvale's growers urged that the sanctions against the Japanese be delayed until the spring farm work was complete. In 1945, at the end of the war, the returning Japanese were hired to save that harvest season. Japanese-Americans were perceived as units of labor, not as people. Any headway that the Japanese had made as tenant farmers or as property owners was destroyed. After the war, some became migrant agricultural workers to begin the cycle again.[33]

Hendy Iron Works During the War

Before the war, the economy of California, and the entire West, was a colonial one with umbilical ties to the

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[32]Sunnyvale Standard, 27 March 1942.

[33]Lukes and Okihiro, Japanese Legacy, 7.

East. From 1941 to 1945, however, the federal government pumped $35 billion dollars into California industry to fuel the war machine. Historian Gerald Nash points out that "as no other single event in the history of the West, the war stimulated economic growth. The erstwhile colony emerged from the war as an economic pace-setter for the nation."[34] Although the federal government was not the only impetus for economic change in the West, it was the most significant factor. Hendy Iron Works changed hands just before World War II and benefited by the war economy.

Six construction companies which had participated in the construction of Boulder and Grand Coulee Dams, among other projects, banded together to form a cartel. One member of the construction cartel became embroiled in litigation with Hendy in 1940. Charles Moore, of Moore Machinery in San Francisco, went to Sunnyvale in an attempt to settle the issue and was surprised by the amount of equipment sitting idle. He called other cartel members, including W. A. "Dad" Bechtel, Felix Kahn, Henry Kaiser and John McCone. Moore suggested that the cartel purchase Hendy and sell the equipment for a fast profit. A timely tip from the Navy, however, encouraged Moore and Kahn to make a trip to Washington, D.C. They came home with $10 million in Navy contracts and an additional $1.3 million for new facilities.

[34]Nash, American West Transformed, 17.

They bought Hendy Iron Works in 1940 for $320,000 from the Bank of California.[35]

The cartel ownership of Hendy Iron Works provided a huge influx of cash to upgrade the facility and hire new workers in time to meet wartime contract deadlines. The military and political connections of the cartel members also helped to secure contracts, ensuring the success of the plant. Henry Kaiser's Washington, D.C. colleagues won the Liberty Ship contracts for Hendy in Sunnyvale.[36]

In 1942, Hendy Iron Works bought out the Hydro-Carbon Company, which began as a stock company with investments from local farmers. Hydro-Carbon had been in Sunnyvale as long as Hendy's. The take-over was initiated by an Office of Production Management directive that Hydro-Carbon's production of varnish, lacquer and waxes was "non-essential."[37]

Under the direct management of cartel member Charles Moore, business at the Iron Works began to boom. Harry Gunnetti, hired as plant manager, initiated a renewed effort to perfect the mass production of marine steam engines. In three-and-a-half years, beginning in 1942, Hendy Iron Works turned out a record 754 Liberty Ship engines. During 1944,

[35]Gayer, "Iron Men of Hendy," 13-15.

[36]Ibid., 18.

[37]Sunnyvale Standard, 5 June 1943.

Hendy workers produced 252 "Tiny Tim" rocket launchers in a single week. The work force swelled from 60 employees in 1940 to 7,500 by the end of the war. The plant was in production twenty-four hours a day. It became like a little city, producing Iron Man Magazine and developing its own police and fire departments. A full-time barber was hired too.

The workers identified themselves as the "Iron Men of Hendy" even though women worked in the plant as well. Joseph McKiernan's "Song of the Iron Men," reprinted in the Iron Man Magazine, expressed the attitude that was sweeping the nation:

> We're the Iron men of Hendy and sons of liberty
> And every ship that rides the sea
> has a part of you and me.
> We're the Iron men of Hendy all pledged to loyalty
> We'll never let a day go by
> that won't sock the axis in the eye.[38]

Joseph Belloli, a former reference librarian at Stanford University, remembered working at the Iron Works during the war with "music teachers, housewives, and businessmen, but few Negros [sic]."[39]

Secret engineering development went on throughout the war on the Hendy property and in offices at Stanford University and local engineering consulting firms. The Sky

[38]Alan Goedsted, "The Iron Men of Hendy," in City of Destiny, 61.

[39]Ibid., 60.

Sweeper was described by Sunnyvale resident David Lewis, who was a consulting engineer on the project. It was to be a three-inch diameter, 70 caliber, double-barreled machine gun to mount on the deck of a ship. It was designed by two Stanford professors, a conveyor expert from Libby canneries, two engineers from Schlage Lock Company and some men from Hendy Iron Works. The Sky Sweeper was intended to shoot down *kamikazi* dive bombers before they were able to damage American ships. Unknown even to the engineers on the project, Hendy produced the first twenty-five of the Sky Sweepers, although by the time of production the war was over.

After the war, the cartel bought out Charles Moore's interest and replaced him with John McCone, president of California Shipbuilding Corporation. In March of 1946, Hendy workers went on strike, primarily in support of striking machinists in San Francisco. Hendy machinists belonged to the San Francisco local because the company sales office was still in San Francisco. Shortly thereafter, however, Hendy machinists changed affiliation to the San Jose local.

Westinghouse Corporation, a major supplier to the Defense Department, contracted with Hendy to produce steam turbines and other ship propulsion gears throughout the war. Westinghouse took over the operation of Hendy's in the

spring of 1947 with a ten-year lease and option to purchase. At the end of 1948, Westinghouse exercised the option, buying "the largest electrical manufacturing plant in the entire West" for almost $4,000,000. The plant was upgraded with an electrical power sub-station equal to the sub-station that supplied the entire town of Sunnyvale. Some areas of the forty-year old plant still had dirt or wood floors, and major renovations were necessary.

Postwar products included printing presses for Life and Time magazines, hydraulic gates and valves, the Richmond-Chase Prune Packaging Machine, and various weapons systems like the Sky Sweeper and the Air Force Tullahoma Axial Flow Compressors. Westinghouse positioned itself in Sunnyvale to be ready and available for production in the aftermath of the war.

Conclusion

By 1943, war-related industry was the dominant economic factor in Sunnyvale, usurping the preeminence of the fruit industry. The expectation of a national recession at the end of the war caused local officials to voice concern about the postwar economy in Sunnyvale. The common assumption, however, was that the economy would once again become fruit-centered. Women would return to seasonal cannery work and their homes, while men would grow and harvest fruit. The *braceros* were to return to Mexico, never to be needed again.

The Japanese could come back to contribute to the farming venture.

By 1946 these assumptions had been proven erroneous. Some women workers who had obtained war jobs outside of the home and canneries had no intention of returning. Many farmers' sons found they could make a better living in industry. Returning GIs filled the Bay Area campuses for an education that would previously have been unavailable to them. Mexican farmworkers had become dependent on the work and needed to return every season to support their families in Mexico. California appealed to many of them as a permanent residence. A few Japanese in Santa Clara County were able to reclaim their property in 1945; most had to rebuild new lives from scratch.

The underdeveloped economy of pre-war California turned out to be a fertile environment for new and innovative businesses, particularly aerospace and electronics. There was no imposing infrastructure of corporate bureaucracy as in the East to impede the growth of new technologies. The Bay Area took on the characteristics of a "post-industrial" society, where the federal dollars allowed new research in nuclear energy, aircraft, and shipbuilding.[40]

The foundation had been laid for further industrial and technological growth. The effort to produce more efficient

[40]Nash, American West Transformed, 35.

war machines was translated into the private sector. Stanford-educated engineers who had worked on defense products began to search for ways to make a living with their research experience in private industry. The permanent presence of the military at Moffett Field ensured future dependence upon Defense Department contracts.

CHAPTER 4

POSTWAR GROWTH

After the war, Sunnyvale city fathers conceived and executed an active and organized plan to recruit industry in hopes of averting economic decline. The Japanese surrender in August 1945 brought war production to a grinding halt. Almost eight thousand workers at Joshua Hendy Iron Works were let go. Euphoria over the war's end was overshadowed by a sense of foreboding about the economy, both nationally and locally.

While regional cooperation had been the hallmark of the 1930s in the establishment of Moffett Field, brutal competition between towns prevailed during the 1950s. The towns each implemented their own separate development and zoning codes and missed an opportunity to implement regional planning strategies. Litigation resulted from annexation proceedings initiated by several Santa Clara County towns, including Sunnyvale.

San Jose had been the urban center for the agricultural communities of the Santa Clara Valley. County services, major retailers, and cultural events were all located in San Jose. The rail link from San Francisco to San Jose served all the towns between, and took Sunnyvalans to San Jose's downtown. The development of stronger city government and the building of local shopping centers dealt a fatal blow to

the link between Sunnyvale and San Jose. The growing city no longer had a need for connection with San Jose. A similar phenomenon occurred in other valley towns; this decentralization contributed to the atrophy of downtown San Jose.

Many interrelated factors fostered a growth and development explosion in Sunnyvale during the 1950s. The population skyrocketed as a result of World War II and expanding industrial employment. Sunnyvale citizens elected to become a charter city which established a City Manager-City Council type of government. The City Manager and City Council actively recruited industry, designating specific tracts of land for industrial use. Likewise, companies chose to locate in Sunnyvale because of the growing labor force, available land, and the welcome extended to them by city officials. Residential real estate developers built in order to draw people to Sunnyvale who would work in the growing industrial base.

Undoubtedly the availability of industrial-zoned land enticed several companies to locate facilities in Sunnyvale. The Chamber of Commerce identified Sunnyvale as the first city in California to set aside land specifically for industry to the exclusion of residential development. Proximity to Moffett Field and Stanford University were also factors drawing some companies.

The population boom that occurred in Sunnyvale in the 1950s resulted in new neighborhoods, schools, shopping centers and a supporting infrastructure of streets and utilites which were built at phenomenal rates. The City Manager, the City Council and the Chamber of Commerce were exceedingly proud of the transformation that occurred in Sunnyvale from the end of World War II to 1960.

The Chamber of Commerce and a New Style Government

On 14 November 1945, a group of forty merchants and business people gathered at the firehouse in Sunnyvale to discuss a possible approach to the postwar economic realities in Sunnyvale because of fears sparked by the slow-down at Hendy's. The Iron Works had solicited bids from potential buyers like Westinghouse, and the Chamber was overrun with questions that they could not answer about the facility, the land and the town. In December, one hundred residents gathered to organize a more active Chamber of Commerce. A search committee formed to recruit applicants for the position of manager of the reorganized Chamber. Al Spiers, a recent dischargee from the Navy and a Chamber manager in a Southern California town, was hired in August of 1946.

Al Spiers was a consummate salesman, and for seventeen years his product was the City of Sunnyvale. During his tenure, close to one hundred industrial firms located in

Sunnyvale. Thousands of acres were annexed to the city, and residential and industrial developments were built with enthusiastic support from the Chamber.

Spiers' first office was in a converted girl's restroom at Fremont High School. His initial impression of Sunnyvale was that it had no interest in growth. "This town had an iron fence around it," Spiers recalled.[1] His most formidable opponents were the anti-growth orchardists. Their interest was not so much to keep people out, as to keep the City from exercising power over their land and lives. According to Spiers, industrial growth was inevitable and the only viable economic option for the city. "Al explained to the fearful residents that it wasn't `industry' but `economic development' being brought into Sunnyvale, and not `industrial districts' being constructed but `industrial parks.'"[2] Farmers put up considerable resistance, but they were unsuccessful in their bid to keep themselves outside the city limits and curtail rampant annexation.

After Westinghouse Corporation acquired the Hendy plant, the General Manager of the Iron Works explained in a letter to Spiers that Westinghouse had decided to settle in

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[1]San Jose Mercury News, 24 March 1978.

[2]California History Center, City of Destiny, 86.

Sunnyvale only in part because of the existing Hendy facility. Other important factors were:

> interest of the community in bringing large industry into this area, the fine reception given them by Mayor Raines, the offer of cooperation by Banker Les Harriman, and the contributions made by your Chamber of Commerce. . . .[3]

A look at the literature generated by the Chamber of Commerce in the 1950s shows the egotistical, prideful attitude. A pamphlet entitled "The City With the Built-in Future" bursts with the rhetoric of growth:

> Industrially and residentially, I am a thoroughly thought-out, well-planned, near-perfect Community. When I was but a sprawling, gangling, crossroad on the California map, my City-planning Commission and a professional planning consultant worked with the thorough cooperation of my Chamber of Commerce to make plans for my future. They neatly divided my acreage into an industrial-residential planned type zoning, with a portion of my land specifically set aside for improved industrial use. . . . As a direct result of their astute activity then, my industrial area today has paved streets, adequate sewerage, plenty of water, a practically inexhaustible supply of natural gas, and one of the country's most powerful electric supply lines at hand.[4]

There is no reference to the property owners of the rezoned areas, nor is there an indication that land for new streets had been taken from some unwilling property owners.

A city charter was presented to the citizens of Sunnyvale by the Board of Freeholders in Janurary 1949. The

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[3]J. C. Gunetti to Al Spiers, 25 February 1947, in City of Destiny, 91.

[4]Sunnyvale Chamber of Commerce, "Sunnyvale, U.S.A.: The City With the Built-in Future."

Freeholders advocated that Sunnyvale become a charter city because it would promote growth. The opponents objected more to specific clauses within the charter, such as authorization of revenue bonds, than to the charter itself. Mayor Webber urged citizens to attend the public meetings to discuss the charter. "It is your duty as a citizen of Sunnyvale to give the Freeholders the benefit of your opinion at this series of meetings."[5] The first town meeting drew seventy-five citizens whose primary complaint was that there were not enough copies of the charter available at public places for the citizens to read. The full text of the charter was published in the next issue of the Sunnyvale Standard, and the following meeting drew only forty residents. The Standard clearly favored charter city status:

> Of course, it [the charter] could be voted down, which would negate the months of work of the Freeholders, and keep our city operating under the present restrictive, 'small town' laws that most Sunnyvalans, we feel sure, are trying to escape.[6]

City Attorney Charles McDonald informed the public that the most fundamental change called for by the new charter was a city executive or City Manager. The City Council would appoint the City Manager, who would then appoint subordinate department heads. The council would maintain jurisdiction

[5]Sunnyvale Standard, 11 January 1949, 1.

[6]Ibid., 14 January 1949, 1.

over the Manager, but not over the appointed department heads. In addition, the charter called for a system of initiative, referendum and recall, which mirrored the procedures in the Elections Code of California.

The election was held on 10 May 1949, and the charter was approved 398 to 276. Only 21% of the 3,209 eligible voters cast a ballot. A mere 122 votes set the course for Sunnyvale's future development. The municipal election was held on 16 August 1949, and the top five vote-getters became the first City Council under the new Charter.

Both the May and August elections put Sunnyvale on a pro-growth path. If opponents had felt strongly enough to mobilize an opposition effort, the charter could have been voted down simply by greater voter turnout. Establishment of the new type of government signaled the transfer of power from the old guard to the new. Of the City Council members elected in August of 1949, only William Theller had served in the previous term. Incumbant Sam Wright received five hundred fewer votes than Ernest M. Stout, who received the fewest votes of those elected. Evidence of a changing of the guard became very clear when commissions were appointed in September. The seven-member Planning Commission had two holdovers from the previous term. The five-member Department of Parks and Recreation had none of the former parks commissioners. The five-member Building Code Board of

Appeals maintained only one member of the earlier board. Walter Jones served as Mayor until 1953. In 1950, H. K. Hunter was appointed City Manager; he held that position until 1958.

The reorganized Chamber and the new City Council specifically stated that they did not want Sunnyvale to become a bedroom community for San Francisco or San Jose. Adoption of the City Charter became a pivotal point in Sunnyvale's history. A structure was created to encourage industrial growth alongside residential development. The City turned away from its dependence on an agricultural economy in an attempt to embrace a more diversified economy.

These developments in Sunnyvale paralled larger changes occurring throughout the West in this period. The region's self-image shifted from a sleepy frontier to a hotbed of economic activity. Cities and towns in the postwar era launched extensive city planning projects in accordance with the emerging idea that the West was on the verge of a new age. Historian Gerald Nash noted that "hundreds of these western towns and cities thus created postwar development commissions whose task it was to transform western dreams into realities on the local level."[7]

In 1958, Sunnyvale won the "All-American Cities Award." The nomination application submitted by the City cites its

[7]Nash, American West Transformed, 11.

recent accomplishments, including a thirty-three-member volunteer Civic Improvement Committee which "crushed public complacency" to promote a $6,800,000 bond issue. The money was intended for improvements to highways, sewer system, purchase of new park lands, five fire stations, and construction of a new Civic Center.[8]

During the 1950s, Sunnyvale, like other cities and towns in Santa Clara County, annexed thousands of acres of land. Sunnyvale differed, however, by zoning parcels for industrial use only. The pre-zoned land, complete with sewers, streets and improvements, was appealing to new companies that located in Sunnyvale.

Annexations

When Sunnyvale was incorporated in 1912, the town measured almost six square miles and Walter Crossman had specifically included within the town boundaries a narrow strip of land leading to the Bay in hopes of establishing Port Sunnyvale. According to county regulations, property directly contiguous to existing town boundaries could be annexed. Crossman's narrow strip of land enabled thousands of acres to be annexed to Sunnyvale legally. Chamber

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[8]Sunnyvale Chamber of Commerce, Application for All-American City Award, 1958, Pamphlet file, Sunnyvale Public Library.

manager Al Spiers credited Crossman's foresight for the industrial development of the 1950s and 1960s.[9]

Up to 1950, only sixty-seven acres had been added to the town and the population had gradually increased to just under 10,000. The whirlwind of annexations by the City of Sunnyvale during the 1950s was perceived as heroic by the Chamber of Commerce, unfair by other municipalities, and downright criminal by many farmers. By 1957, Sunnyvale encompassed thirteen-and-a-half square miles. Table 1 indicates the number of acres annexed to Sunnyvale from 1950 to 1956:

Table 1

Number of Acres Annexed by Sunnyvale 1950-1956

1950	65
1951	269
1952	989
1953	1003
1954	505
1955	1251
1956	1093

Source: Sunnyvale Standard, 9 January 1957.

San Jose, as the largest city in Santa Clara County, set the pace for annexations in the county. After World War II, Anthony "Dutch" Hamann was hired as San Jose's City Manager. He and his aides became known as Dutch Hamann's

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[9]California History Center, City of Destiny, 84.

"panzer division" because of the way they swept through farms attempting to convince landowners of the benefits and inevitablity of annexation. The official attitude was unreservedly pro-growth, as San Jose hoped to become the Los Angeles of the north.

> The city government wanted to give developers and landowners what they needed, but they also wanted to make strategic annexations that would maintain San Jose's dominance of the valley, "bottling up" other cities rather than being trapped by them. The city manager's "Panzer Division" was vigorously engaged in urban imperialism, at war with neighboring communities.[10]

Sunnyvale, like San Jose, was particularly aggressive in its quest for broader city limits. Cupertino filed a petition for incorporation in 1954 to protect itself from being swallowed up by Sunnyvale and San Jose.[11] That same year, Santa Clara filed suit against Sunnyvale claiming that annexed property along Lawrence Station Road "illegally spilled into Santa Clara territory."[12] Eighteen separate annexation proceedings were filed by Sunnyvale in 1956. The two largest parcels represented land earmarked for Lockheed (Guadalupe tract, no. 2 at 265 acres) and General Motors

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[10]Philip J. Troustine and Terry Christensen, Movers and Shakers: The Study of Community Power (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 93.

[11]"Cupertino Moves to Incorporate," San Jose Mercury, 19 February 1954.

[12]San Francisco Chronicle, 18 February 1954.

(Manzanita tract, no. 1, at 238 acres).[13] Valuable tax revenues to be generated by these corporations motivated the City to initiate proceedings before neighboring towns could do so. Mountain View filed suit against Sunnyvale for its annexation of the Lockheed land, but Judge Edwin Owens ruled in favor of Sunnyvale. His opinion stated that Sunnyvale had followed correct procedure for annexation, even though the land in question had previously been served by the Mountain View School District.[14]

Don DeMain, an editorialist for the Sunnyvale Standard, accused civic leaders of growth hysteria early in 1957:

> Big industries don't just bring a ripe tax base plum, but they also bring a demand for municipal services. . . . the cost of prosperity is getting too expensive. . . . go soak your heads to cool off for a while.[15]

The mid-1950s offered an opportunity to local and county governments in the Santa Clara Valley to allow controlled growth and maintain a balanced economy promoting industry while preserving the agricultural base. Governments at each level did not perceive the need to protect agricultural land and pandemonium broke out in annexation battles. Hundreds of farmers made individual

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[13]Sunnyvale Standard, 9 January 1957.

[14]Ibid., 8 January 1957.

[15]Don DeMain, "Growth Hysteria Invades Our Valley," Ibid., 17 January 1957.

choices either to sell and reap the financial benefits, or to try to continue farming in an increasingly suburban area. The farmers convinced the County government to amend the zoning ordinance to include "exclusive agriculture." Local governments feared that farmers had them in a stranglehold and began to annex the land to get around the county ordinance.[16]

In 1955, the California State Legislature passed the "Agricultural Exclusion Act" which stipulated that land zoned by a county for exclusive agriculture could not be annexed by a city without the consent of the owner. City governments raced to annex thousands of acres of property in the ninety days before the law took effect. Ultimately, the suburban and industrial growth that Al Spiers had predicted as inevitable became a reality. The farmers sold, speculators built, and the cities had difficulty in paying for the amenities that they had promised to all.

Industrial "Parks"

The Chamber of Commerce actively recruited industry after World War II. Many large Eastern companies were already in the process of relocating to the West Coast because of population growth in California. Personal Products Corporation, a subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson,

[16]Karl Belser, "The Making of Slurban America," Cry California 5 (Fall 1970): 6.

built a new facility in Sunnyvale in 1953. George Murphy, company president, said the move was "pure and simple economics." It was more cost effective to build a facility in California than to incur the cost of shipping products to growing populations.[17]

Sunnyvale's business community put itself in a position to host incoming companies. By 1952, ten new companies had joined the four that had survived the end of World War II. The city boasted an industrial payroll of $32,000,000. The companies new to Sunnyvale included Bowser Inc., R. H. Hamilton Co., Duncan Smith Co., Thorton Mills Co., Illuminitronic Engineering Co., Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp., and Sylvania Electric Company. Only Illuminitronic and Sylvania would become high-technology firms.

On 29 July 1958, the National Aeronautics and Space Act transferred all assets and functions of NACA to NASA. The space race began in earnest in 1961 when the Russians successfully launched *Vostok I*, carrying the first man into space. Ames Laboratory projects during the fifties and sixties included hypervelocity free-flight experiments, airflow studies, pilot-environment adaptation research, aerodynamic heating, space physics, and flight simulators.[18]

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[17]San Francisco Chronicle, 4 November 1953.

[18]Hartman, Adventures in Reasearch, 307.

Sunnyvale's city planners zoned large parcels of land for industrial use only. They put in streets and sewers using pay-as-you-go bonds. The groundwork was complete for companies to locate in Sunnyvale. The City Council claimed that Sunnyvale was the first city in California to develop a "Controlled Industrial Area" which pre-zoned industrial land to the exclusion of residential development.[19] The Council wanted incoming industries to be "clean" and enforced stipulations against smokestacks. Some companies seeking to locate in Sunnyvale's industrial area were turned away. Al Spiers imagined "industrial parks with a country club atmosphere, where employees can be happy without the bother of smoke and parking problems."[20]

The most important model for Sunnyvale's approach was Stanford Industrial Park, the brain-child of Stanford University Engineering Professor Fred Terman. He envisioned

> a community of technical scholars. . . . Such a community is composed of industries using highly sophisticated technologies, together with a strong university that is sensitive to the creative activities of the surrounding industry. This pattern appears to be the wave of the future.[21]

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[19]"Sunnyvale Marks Another Chapter in Its Big Story," San Francisco Chronicle, 8 June 1960.

[20]Al Spiers, "An Invitation to America's Industry," in City of Destiny, 88.

[21]Alan Bernstein and others, Silicon Valley: Paradise or Paradox? The Impact of High Technology Industry on Santa Clara County (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Studies Center, 1977), 7.

Terman particularly advocated an environment for successful research and development of electronic products in the West to keep his most gifted students involved with Stanford. Professor Terman felt that employment opportunities in California would keep graduates from going to Boston and MIT. However, stipulations made by Leland Stanford about "the Farm" prohibited the sale of land for any reason, including industrial development. Stanford Industrial Park, the first of its kind, was created in the 1950s by long-term land leases to high-technology companies. Buildings were designed for a campus setting. Landscaping gave the reseacher the feeling of being at the academy, not in industry. Stanford Industrial Park allowed access by tenants to campus laboratory facilities and generated money to finance the growth of the University. Varian Associates and Hewlett-Packard, both started by Stanford alums, were the first two companies to lease the land in the highly successful 660-acre industrial park. It became a bridge of collaboration between the academy and business which generated brain-power for the research firms and supported University development. Stanford Industrial Park's landscaping, architecture and physical layout became the model for subsequent research and development facilities

which portrayed a modern, innovative image.[22]

Stanford Industrial Park acted as a generator for start-up electronics firms. Eleven thousand workers were employed in twenty-five companies in the park by 1961.[23] Lockheed worked out of Stanford Industrial Park from its advent in the Bay Area until it moved Sunnyvale in 1956. The facilities built for Lockheed were significantly influenced by Stanford Industrial Park and initiated a new way to raise and control capital by non-ownership of property.

Lockheed and General Motors: One Company Stayed, The Other Never Came

Lockheed's arrival to Sunnyvale in 1956 was the largest relocation of any company to date. The Van Nuys, California-based company had grown during World War II, and the beginning of the Cold War kept Defense Department contracts coming to Lockheed. A new wing of the company was formed called Lockheed Missile Systems Division; subsequently it became Lockheed Missiles and Space Company. The company sought a location for its new division with easy access to recent college graduates, "an agreeable climate, a

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[22]Annalee Saxenian, "The Genesis of Silicon Valley," in Silicon Landscapes, ed. Peter Hall and Ann Markusen (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 24.

[23]Ibid., 28.

good quality of living, affordability and proximity to an airport."[24]

Marion Sellers, by 1990 a forty-year veteran at Lockheed, orchestrated the move from Van Nuys to Sunnyvale in 1956. He recalled that Labor Day weekend when six hundred people caravaned in 350 moving vans from the south to the north. Over the following six weeks, two thousand co-workers joined the initial tranferees. Ground-breaking at the new Sunnyvale site took place in what Sellers recalled "was all beanfields then, and the Bayshore Freeway was only a two-lane road."[25]

Like Lockheed, General Motors also intended to build a facility in Sunnyvale. Chamber Manager Al Spiers received a phone call from a vice-president in the real estate division of Southern Pacific Railroad asking for all pertinent information on Sunnyvale for a prospective industrial client. Spiers sent on the data, and ultimately, General Motors bought two-hundred acres from Southern Pacific at the Bayshore Highway and Lawrence Station Road. The Chamber of Commerce and Sunnyvale City Council were ecstatic over their latest coup in landing a major industrial client.

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[24]"The Sunnyvale Man Who Brought Lockheed to Town," Valley Journal, 31 May 1990, and Robin Reynolds, "Watching Silicon Valley's Boom," Valley Journal, 23 July 1987.

[25]Ibid.

The parcel of land, a former horse-breeding farm, had tenants living in shacks. Mrs. Joe Perez, who paid $15 per month for her family to live in a dilapidated cabin, said, "I don't see why they have to keep building so many big plants." Other citizens concerned about a potential smog problem were assured that precautions had been taken in the zoning laws. City Manager H. K. Hunter claimed that "we have strict performance standards: no odors, no fumes, or other nuisances. We haven't got a factory smokestack in the city."[26]

The two hundred acres, however, were the subject of a boundary dispute between the cities of Sunnyvale and Santa Clara. It is unclear whether this dispute alone or in combination with other factors contributed to General Motors' decision to locate in Fremont three years later. The value of the land GM bought in Sunnyvale from Southern Pacific Railroad increased from $4,000 to $12,000 an acre from the time of purchase to the time of decision to locate in Fremont. General Motors exchanged the property in Sunnyvale with other property owned by Southern Pacific Railroad in Fremont. Southern Pacific got its valuable land back for future development. However, ten years went by before Southern Pacific developed Oakmead Business and

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[26]Jack Foisie, "Sunnyvale to Get Big GM Plant," San Francisco Chronicle, 31 March 1956.

Industrial Park on the "GM site" which straddles the boundary between Santa Clara and Sunnyvale.

Residential Development

By the summer of 1954, twenty-nine residential housing developments with four thousand houses valued at $18 million were under construction. For the most part, the builders were based in the Bay Area. Table 2 indicates residential developments as of August, 1954.

Table 2

Housing Developments in Sunnyvale, 1954

Arbor Court	La Linda Park
Arleen Manor	La Linda Terrace
Bayview Haven	Lawrence Manor
Carroll Gardens	Madrone Manor
Cherry Chase	Manzanita Park
Cherry Estates	Oak Manor
Fair Oaks Park	Orchard Gardens
Gavello Glen	Parkside Manor
Greenwood Manor	Sunnyside Manor
Greenvale Manor	Sunnyvale Acres
Holiday Manor	Sunnyvale Terrace
Karville Manor	Walnut Park
La Linda Dell	Western Estates
Westmoor Village	

Source: San Francisco Chronicle, 15 August 1954.

Sunnyvale residents Matt and Mary Miholovich bought five acres; they built a house for themselves and developed the remaining lots. Later they bought an additional five

acres in partnership with Oscar Liebert.[27] Mary recalled a friend asking why they were moving "way out in the boondocks." They developed Bayview Haven into twenty-nine lots measuring from 8,800 square feet up to 19,000 square feet. Old San Francisco Road ran near the property, between Fair Oaks and Mathilda Avenues. Bayview Haven advertised custom homes, built either by the developers or by owners themselves. Lots were priced from $4,400 to $5,000 and four lots sold even before the street paving began.[28]

Three-bedroom tract houses built in Westmoor Village by corporate developer Holiday Homes replaced the eighty-acre D'Arrigo orchard. Every lot had mature fruit trees; the subdivision ads proclaimed "country living" because of the "built-in orchard." Mary Avenue bisected the property and the Mary-El Shopping Center was built at the edge of the tract on El Camino Real.

Cherry Chase was developed by the joint efforts of several builders, including W. C. Garcia, Sunset Homes, McKenzie & Crawford, Arnesen Construction and Mann Construction. Cherry Chase homes were "tailored to the tastes of junior executives." The average lot size was 6,000 square feet with prices ranging from $11,950 to

[27]Mary Miholovich, Conversation with the author, 8 February 1991.

[28]"A Custom Home Area in Sunnyvale," San Francisco Chronicle, 15 August 1954.

$13,950. McKenzie & Crawford, the biggest contractor in Cherry Chase, constructed 223 homes in three-and-a-half months. Most were sold before completion. Cherry Chase Shopping Center on El Camino Real was developed by San Francisco builder James Arnott, in conjunction with Rogers Development Corporation, adjacent to the 1,400 Cherry Chase homes.

Greenvale Manor, the largest subdivision in Sunnyvale on a 130-acre tract, was also the farthest from the town center, with its location bounded by Reed Lane and Bowers Avenue. The 726 two and three-bedroom homes were priced from $8,300 to $9000.

Multiple family housing was also constructed in this period, and by 1957 thirteen acres of the Azevedo property north of Duane Avenue was the largest multi-family development in Sunnyvale. Clusters of duplex, triplex and apartment dwellings were slated for the area.[29]

Federally insured mortgage programs, initiated to help new home buyers, worked instead to market large-scale residential developments. The newspaper ads for Sunnyvale's growing residential tracts noted the availability of FHA and VA insured mortgages. Buyers benefited by the mortgage system, but the developers used the programs as marketing tools to promote their own product. The federal government

[29]Sunnyvale Standard, 29 Janurary 1957.

therefore, was an active participant in the unchecked growth in Sunnyvale.[30]

Conclusion

The Sunnyvale business community developed an aggressive Chamber of Commerce which supported the pro-growth policy of the City Manager, the Mayor and the City Council. Each contributed to the rampant development in Sunnyvale by way of public policy and personal strategy. State legislation, such as the Agricultural Exclusion Act, failed to save farms from annexation. Federal mortage insurance programs of FHA and the VA also contributed to the fast-paced building effort.

Zoning of large tracts of land for the exclusive use of industrial owners, the first "Contolled Industrial Areas" in California, was a factor drawing companies to Sunnyvale. City fathers believed it would bring a stable economy to the community. Critics charge that a more balanced approach to growth could have enabled the farmers to survive alongside a limited number of industrial companies.

Residential development was carried on by both Sunnyvale residents and outsiders. Thousands of homes built in the 1950s were financed by attractive packages including FHA or VA-insured mortgages. Residential and industrial

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[30]Belser, "Slurban America," 18.

developments grew up at the same time, each supporting the other, each necessary for the success of the other.

City services expanded to accommodate the growth. Bishop School opened in 1950, cutting ties with Mountain View School District. Sunnyvale Shopping Center, constructed in the heart of downtown, severed retail ties with San Jose. The center included J. C. Penney, Weinstein's, and Woolworth. In 1953, Sunnyvale installed 328 parking meters, its first, acknowledging the impact of growth on traffic and parking in the town. Twenty-three churches were under construction by 1957, some replacing older, smaller ones, and some brand new.

Sunnyvale's population jumped from 9,829 in 1950 to 52,898 in 1960. Postwar western migration, local boosterism with its resulting industrial and residential development, and the proximity of Moffett Field and Stanford University were all factors contributing to the dramatic increase.

CHAPTER 5

THE 1960s: ADJUSTMENT TO GROWTH

During the 1960s, Sunnyvale residents, businesses and political leaders began to feel repercussions from the unbridled growth of the 1950s. Farm land had been annexed, or soon would be, and streets were widened and extended, taking valuable portions of farms. Some farmers wanted to hold out against the developers. Other farmers or their sons became developers themselves, promoting and profiting from change.

Power struggles within the City Council and between the City Manager and the Council sparked an unprecedented spate of resignations and firings. These civic upheavals induced many citizens to participate in the political process and in 1967, twenty-two candidates filed papers to run for seven City Council positions.

Active recruitment of industry in the 1950s resulted in a predominance of defense-related industries in Sunnyvale in the 1960s. City officials had claimed that more industrial development would help to diversify and stabilize the economy. The preponderance of defense contractors, however, created an economy dependent not only on one industry, like fruit processing, but also on one customer: the federal government. The Vietnam War, NASA's space program, and

satellite production generated business for Sunnyvale industries in the 1960s.

Moffett Industrial Park, purchased and developed in the 1960s, exemplified a new process for industry to accrue capital for research, product development and production by leasing or selling land. Based on the Stanford Industrial Park model, Moffett Industrial Park was the largest master-planned development for high-technology industry in the nation. By the end of the 1960s, however, Moffett Park's only three tenants were defense contractors. The end of the Vietnam War in the 1970s led to reduced military spending and consumer-oriented, high-tech industries were welcomed as tenants in the industrial park.

Federal urban renewal dollars were made available to blighted residential areas of cities in the 1960s. Sunnyvale applied for federal monies to remove existing buildings and redevelop the land now occupied by Town & Country Village. The original plan submitted by the city included the 100 block of Murphy Avenue, but this portion was denied by the federal government. Today's only historic district in Sunnyvale, the preserved Murphy Avenue block, would have been destroyed if it had been left up to the city officials.

Infrastructure

Massive infrastructure development by the city, the county, and the state was required by the rapid growth of population. Sunnyvale's population had quadrupled in the 1950s. In 1960, the city had 53,000 residents; by 1970, it had 95,408. The Public Works Department added 92 miles of streets in the 1960s, for a total of 233 miles. Major projects included Kifer Road, Arques, Fremont Avenue, Wolfe Road, and the Moffett Park roads of Crossman, Caribbean, Java Drive and the Mathilda Avenue extension. Santa Clara County purchased land from homeowners to build the Central and Lawrence Expressways. The state made progress on Highway 280, the Stevens Creek Freeway, Mountain View/Alviso Highway, and the Bayshore Freeway. The last traffic light on the Bayshore was removed from Fair Oaks Avenue in 1960.

The city bought seven lots totaling one acre at California and Sunnyvale Avenues, where the Murphy family's Bay View house had been. The process of seeking historic site status began in the 1960s. At the same time, the old City Hall, built in 1929, was abandoned and ultimately demolished in 1969.

Dollars spent on construction hit all-time high in 1968, with $54.3 million spent on a combination of residential, commercial, and industrial properties. In 1969, 420 house permits were issued for construction valued

at $9,990,635, while industrial permits represented $9,582,072.[1]

The construction boom of the 1950s and 1960s alleviated fears of unemployment in the immediate postwar years. However, new and unforeseen problems arose out of the scramble to build and develop. The pace of development was faster than local governments could monitor. The lack of general policy toward growth resulted in power struggles between and within governmental structures at the regional, county, and city level.[2]

The 1960s were marked by discord nationally as well as locally. Sunnyvale's conflict was due to the unprecedented growth of the previous decade. Various factions, including new and old residents, businesses, and civic and business leaders, attempted to adjust to the changes.

Some Sunnyvale Natives' Response to Growing Infrastructure

Rezoning battles followed in the wake of annexations and street building. The Vidovich family, Sunnyvale farmers descended from Eastern European immigrants, submitted a request to the county in 1963 to rezone their farm at Mary and Fremont Avenues for commercial use. Although outside

[1]Sunnyvale Standard, 6 January 1970, 5.

[2]Mel Scott, The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective, 2d ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 270.

city limits, Mary Avenue had recently been extended, and bisected the Vidovich farm. City of Sunnyvale officials and the neighboring homeowners opposed the request for rezoning because they did not want commercial businesses there. Steve Vidovich stated the family's point of view:

> We would have been perfectly happy to have continued farming the area, but this 86 foot wide Mary Avenue extension will divide our farm in half. It kills the land's usefulness for farming.[3]

Ultimately the Vidovich family's request for rezoning was granted by the County Board of Supervisors, whom the press claimed were "disdaining the vociferous pleas of some 100 Sunnyvale citizens."[4] The city limits were extended well past the area, and De Anza Square Shopping Center was built on nine acres. By 1970, fifteen tenants had leased space in the shopping center.[5]

Vidovich's friend and neighbor Peter Pavlina developed family property into residential subdivisions as well as commercial sites. Projects included Remington Professional Center and the Remington Grove Apartment Complex which had 92 units, with an additional 200 units planned. By 1970,

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[3]"Rezoning Battle Brewing," Sunnyvale Daily Standard, 18 June 1963.

[4]Ibid., 11 February 1964, 1.

[5]Sunnyvale Standard, 28 January 1970.

Peter Pavlina was the President of the Sunnyvale Chamber of Commerce.[6]

Fred Takagi's parents owned five-and-a-half acres along North Mary Avenue, where they had resided since their release from a United States internment camp after World War II. The family grew chrysanthemums in rows of hothouses along the narrow street. The City wanted to widen the street, and industrial developers had plans for land surrounding the Takagi property. Fred Takagi was torn between the economic security that selling the land would provide and the family tradition of farming.

> Ninety-nine percent of the growers aren't in this for business reasons. . . . They really just want to grow flowers. But the younger guys, like myself, are more inclined to look at it from the business standpoint.[7]

Sunnyvale residents who owned large parcels of land struggled to formulate their own reaction to growth. For many, leaving the farm meant adopting an undesirable way of life. For others, the cash generated by the sale and development of land was a welcome change, providing a secure economic future.

Civic Upheaval

The 1960s was a decade of discord among political and civic leaders in Sunnyvale. In 1963, Chamber of Commerce

[6]"Pavlina Turns to Syndicates, Offices and Apartment Units," Ibid., 28 January 1970.

[7]Sunnyvale Scribe, 16 April 1975.

manager Al Spiers was fired by the Chamber's Board even though he had been credited with bringing some of the biggest employers to Sunnyvale. Spiers was immediately hired by Cupertino as Chamber manager, but within two years he retired because of failing health. Spiers was named Cupertino's "Man of the Year" in 1969 in recognition of his community service. The Sunnyvale Chamber of Commerce hired Ed Beaty of Stockton in 1963 as new manager.

The following year, City Manager Perry Scott fired seven-year veteran Planning Director Arthur Spencer after property secretly owned by two planning commissioners was rezoned by the City Council. Spencer protested his dismissal because he and his staff recommended against rezoning the land. The two commissioners, John Houlihan and Donald S. Logan, denied that their ownership was secret, even though the application for rezoning that they submitted was in the name of the former owner, M. E. Carlson. The two and-a-half acres lies at the corner of Reedland Street and Timber Pine Avenue.[8]

In 1964, former Finance Department Director Thomas H. Sweeney was appointed acting City Manager and was granted permanent appointment the next year. He was only the third City Manager in Sunnyvale's history, but the first one to

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[8]"Furor Over Rezoning in Sunnyvale," San Francisco Chronicle, 27 May 1964, 32.

come from a City Hall job. In 1966, City Librarian Colin Lucas resigned amid rumors of personality conflicts between Sweeney and his subordinates. In December, Sweeney demanded the resignation of longtime Parks and Recreation Director Richard Milkovich. The resignation touched off a months-long civic furor with citizen groups forming on one side and the City Council attempting to maintain order on the other.[9]

Initially Sweeney won the support of four of seven City Council members in his intention to fire Milkovich. After Milkovich was fired, however, Councilman Fred Logan changed his mind and publically supported Milkovich. A few days after the "resignation," five other city department heads signed a letter of intent to resign unless Milkovich was reinstated. They cited numerous complaints about Sweeney's management style, including an inability to communicate with employees and a failure to back up their decisions.[10]

Fearing a walk-out by the whole city staff, the City Council voted to suspend Sweeney. His only remaining official ally was Councilwoman Maureen McDaniel, who argued that the $16,000-per-year department heads were jealous of Sweeney's $24,500 position.

Director of Community Relations Gordon Miller was named interim City Manager. He had been one of the five

[9]Sunnyvale Standard Register Leader, 16 December 1966.

[10]Ibid.

threatening to quit if Milkovich was not reinstated. His first act was to rehire Milkovich. He applied for a salary increase to make his earnings commensurate with what Sweeney's had been for that position.

The City Charter states that the City Council has jurisdiction over the City Manager. It provides that the City Manager, however, has the right to request a public hearing in case of suspension or firing. Sweeney requested a hearing, and in the meantime, public support for him grew.

Over one hundred Sweeney supporters gathered the night of 28 December 1966 to develop strategy. Their main goal was to launch a door-to-door campaign to collect signatures on a petition asking for a fair and impartial hearing for Sweeney. Most believed that the accusers (the City Council) were also playing the part of judge and jury, and that there would be no justice. One supporter declared, "If a group of employees can gang up on Mr. Sweeney, we don't have a City Manager form of government."[11]

Early in January, prominent local real estate developers of Sunnyvale Plaza, Edwin Randle and William Romano, came out in support of Sweeney. Mrs. LaVerne Burke wrote an angry letter to the editor accusing City Hall of dirty politics and predicted that the council members would lose the next election.

[11]Ibid., 29 December 1966.

When the public hearing began 21 February 1967, Sweeney maintained that he knew "no cause to justify this action." Within one hour, however, Thomas Sweeney resigned, still claiming that "Milkovich is the least productive of any city employee in a position of authority." Special City Attorney Melville Toff raised questions of competency when he asked if a half-million-dollar federal grant for open space had been lost because the applications were filed a day late. Sweeney responded, "I'm not sure, it may have. We were trying hard to become familiar with the complicated procedures for seeking federal grants."[12]

A record twenty-two candidates filed applications to run for City Council in 1967.[13] The debate over the power of the City Manager might have influenced people to run. The April election did not effect much change, however. Five of seven members were reelected, including Sweeney supporter Maureen McDaniel. Former City Planning Commissioner Donald Logan, who had been forced to resign in 1964 for submitting an application to rezone a piece of his own property under another name, unseated Fred Logan (no relation).

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[12]Ibid., 21 February 1967.

[13]Ibid., 16 February 1967.

Military Industrial Complex

When President Dwight Eisenhower delivered his farewell address at the end of his presidency, he coined the phrase "military-industrial complex" (MIC) to describe the network of defense researchers and contractors working on Pentagon projects. By the end of the 1960s, the MIC was an $80 billion-a-year industry.

Technological advances during the war placed greater demands for advanced design and production on America's largest weapons producers. Some of these large corporations located facilities in and around Sunnyvale because Stanford University, Stanford Research Institute and NASA were nearby. Historian Charles Wollenberg noted in Golden Gate Metropolis that

> whereas 19th and 20th century industrial development needed to locate close to markets, resources, and transportation routes, the new high-tech enterprises stimulated by defense dollars put a premium on easy access to appropriate brainpower and technical skills.[14]

Sunnyvale civic leaders, like officials from many cities across the country, sought industrial diversification for their town to provide the economic stability that the previous agricultural base could not. Some early industrial recruits to Sunnyvale, like Personal Products Corporation,

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[14]Charles Wollenberg, Golden Gate Metropolis: Perspectives on Bay Area History, Institute of Governmental Studies (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 312.

helped to achieve the city's goal. It is ironic, however, that subsequent industrial development in Sunnyvale was by highly specialized companies whose primary or sole customer was the federal government. Cost-plus contracts made substantial cost overruns commonplace. Workers spent their days in a cubicle rather than on an assembly line. The units of output in this new industry were few and highly specialized. The cost of materials was minimal compared to the amount of sales. The result was an economy that was not diversified, but dependent on federal government contracts.

Sunnyvale's Chamber of Commerce and City Council, like most everyone else, viewed the emerging high-technology centers as clean, innovative and entrepreneurial, an improvement over the smoke-belching, bureaucratic, conservative industries in the East. Lockheed Missiles & Space Company was welcomed with open arms to Sunnyvale, as were Westinghouse, Ford Aerospace and Electro-Magnetic Systems Labs (ESL).

As a result of the Korean War and the Cold War, the principal products produced in Sunnyvale were spy satellites, missiles, radar equipment based on the Hansen/Varian brothers' invention of the Klystron tube, and microwave detection/communication systems. Virtually all were produced for contracts with the Defense Department or

NASA. Seventy percent of industry's sales in the valley in 1966 were the result of government spending.[15]

As in other areas in the United States where the defense industry was the basis for the economy, military spending had a major impact on local and regional planning policies. The defense industries created "low density, industrial park suburbs" disconnected from nearby urban areas. The result was a "newer generation of medium-sized, detached metropolitan areas."[16]

The semiconductor industry in Santa Clara County developed in symbiosis with the military industrial complex. Jack Melchor, founding investor of ESL, claimed that defense contracts caused an acceleration in the semiconductor business. "The U.S. government, through big defense systems programs, really built the semiconductor industry, because they were crying for solid-state devices and high reliability."[17] These two industries located near each other to supply each other's needs, and Bay Area college

[15]Bank of America 1969 report "Focus on Santa Clara County," quoted by Peter Carey in Carolyn Caddes and Barbara Newton, Portraits of Success: Impressions of Silicon Valley Pioneers (Palo Alto, CA: Tioga Publishing, 1986), 2.

[16]Ann Roell Markusen and Robin Block, "Defensive Cities: Military Spending, High Technology, and Human Settlements," in High Technology, Space, and Society, ed. Manuel Castells, Urban Affairs Annual Review, vol. 28 (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1985), 107.

[17]Jack Melchor, quoted in Caddes and Newton, Portraits of Success, 2.

campuses along with Moffett Field offered a steady stream of workers. Scores of subcontractors likewise located near the industrial vortex. The emergence of Moffett Industrial Park on property adjacent to Lockheed and Moffett Field established an environment ripe for defense-based industrial development.

Even though these companies grew up in Sunnyvale, they had almost no political or cultural ties to the community. Companies created their own reclusive environment with strict security measures, aimed at keeping information in and those lacking security clearance out. Access to educated managers and a general work force with proximity to the military base at Moffett were more important than what particular city would be listed as the company address.

By 1969 Lockheed Missiles & Space Company employed 21,000 workers in the design and production of Polaris and Poseidon missiles and the Agena rocket. Westinghouse in Sunnyvale employed 3,000 to design and build launchers for the Polaris. The 1,400 workers at United Technology Center produced rocket boosters for missile systems. Thousands of others worked for businesses dependent on the giant defense contractors.

Newsweek reporter Peter Barnes was surprised at the invisibility of weapons production in Sunnyvale:

> In its physical appearance, Sunnyvale has turned into another dreary stretch of urban America, its orchards

> replaced by shopping centers, bowling alleys, used-car lots, and drive-ins. Strangely enough, the omnipresent industrial complex is almost invisible. . . . Missiles and rockets are put together in bland, sanitized buildings almost indistinguishable from cafeterias and insurance company offices. No signs proclaim the change from "prune capital" to "Polaris capital of the world."[18]

Mayor Shields explained that workers in Sunnyvale defense plants did not think of themselves as builders of war machines, since the Poseidon and Polaris missiles were offensive weapons and therefore deterrents. Shields claimed that the Poseidon and Polaris "are never intended to be used."[19]

An unidentified Santa Clara County planner was quoted as saying "Death is our favorite industry." Other officials denied that an end to the war in Vietnam would send Sunnyvale's economy into a tailspin. Mayor Harold Shields, a contracts administrator for Westinghouse, claimed that peace would bring war dollars back home for long-term military research and development. International arms control, however, was viewed as a threat to the area's economy. Senior county planner Robert Goldman said "a really meaningful [international arms] agreement could put our Lockheed plant essentially out of business." He

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[18]Peter Barnes, "Sunnyvale: Prunes to Missiles," Newsweek, 9 June 1969, 77.

[19]Ibid.

concluded, however, that such an agreement was "in the realm of fantasy."[20]

Sunnyvale's complete dependence on military procurement did not produce a widespread pro-war attitude, however. Neither was it a hotbed of dissent. Surprisingly enough, there was very little sign in Sunnyvale that the Southeast Asian war was being waged, and that much of the weaponry was produced locally. The largest labor union representing Lockheed workers, District 508 of the International Association of Machinists, opposed the war in Vietnam.

In 1965, Sunnyvale resident Marine Sargeant R. L. Jones was awarded the Bronze Star by Congress for valor in his service in Vietnam. The citation made specific reference to Jones's "disregard for his own personal safety [as] he repeatedly exposed himself to intense hostile fire while carrying wounded men to safety."[21] Despite the heavy influence of defense work in Sunnyvale, there is no evidence that Vietnam Veterans were greeted with more than perfunctory acknowledgment on their return home.

Moffett Industrial Park

The Guy F. Atkinson Company, a worldwide construction and engineering firm, bought six hundred acres from fifteen

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[20]Ibid.

[21]Standard Register Leader, 31 January 1967.

property owners in Sunnyvale in 1963. The sellers were granted leases until the end of the growing season to harvest crops already planted.[22] The developers successfully sought annexation of those parcels not already within the city limits.

The Atkinson Company planned to build an industrial park based on the Stanford Industrial Park model, specifically geared to science and electronics companies along with their distribution centers. The $7 million transaction, the largest real estate deal in the county's history, was brokered by Palo Alto realty firm Hare, Brewer & Kelly, Inc. The new industrial park was expected to be filled to capacity within five to eight years and employ ten to twenty thousand workers.[23]

The Guy F. Atkinson Company formed a partnership, Moffett Park Associates, to manage the project. Other partners were Prudential Insurance Company and Lockheed Missiles & Space Company. The partnership contracted in the late 1960s with real estate giant Coldwell Banker in San Francisco to market Moffett Industrial Park. One advertisement proclaimed, "Plants Grow Beautifully in Moffett Park." Companies could build there on sites as

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[22]Sunnyvale Daily Standard, 13 June 1963, 1.

[23]"Industrial Park at Sunnyvale," San Francisco Chronicle, 15 June 1963, 38.

small as two acres and count on future expansion on adjoining acreage.[24]

Expectations of full occupancy within five to eight years proved unrealistic. By 1970, there were only three tenants, all defense-oriented companies: Lockheed Missiles & Space, ESL, and Control Data Corporation. In 1972, Prudential bought out the other partners on fifty-three acres in the industrial park, with an option to control the remaining 417 acres, which they exercised throughout the 1970s.[25] Property tax bills from 1973-74 were addressed to Prudential Insurance Company at a Lockheed address, indicating that Prudential actually managed the project from the Lockheed site.[26]

The Guy F. Atkinson Company sold its share to Prudential, which invested policy-holders' money in real estate development in the park. Lockheed Missiles & Space Company pumped the cash generated by land leases and land sales back into research and development. Selling land to Prudential left Lockheed free from property management and generated long-term cash infusion, while the land leases

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[24]Sunnyvale Standard, 28 January 1970.

[25]"Prudential Buys Industrial Park," San Jose Mercury News, 8 February 1972, 52.

[26]Santa Clara County Tax Rolls, 1973-73, assessor parcel numbers 110-01-061 and 110-02-062.

maintained control over the land providing for the possibility of future plant expansion.

Old City Hall

The old City Hall was a mission-style building with a red tile roof that was built at Murphy and McKinley Avenues in the 1920s. For decades it was a social as well as political center. The large auditorium and stage hosted City Council meetings, dramatic presentations and social gatherings. When the new Civic Center was built a few blocks away, at its present location, the old City Hall was left vacant.

Many Sunnyvale residents favored renovation for the old building. The property was offered for sale at $200,000, and later for $150,000. The citizens' group that favored preservation of the site could not raise the funds to buy the property.

Local business people were vocal advocates of tearing down the building. Downtown merchants felt that if the site were sold and developed into retail-commercial businesses, their own shops would prosper. Joe Battaglia of Ferry's Hardware Store voiced the merchants' opinion when he said, "the property is just sitting idle there. If we could put in some nice stores, the city would get more revenue and we

could keep people shopping in downtown Sunnyvale."[27] The merchants demanded that the city sell the old City Hall.

At several City Council meetings, demolition of City Hall was a hotly contested agenda item. However, no one protested at the final meeting on the issue when the Council called for demolition bids. The press noted the silent presence of former City Clerk Ida Trubschenck. She had been a force in Sunnyvale government long before the City Hall was built. Miss Trubschenck sat in the last row and remained silent throughout the meeting.[28]

In the view of the town merchants, the razing of City Hall came several years too late. Those who favored preservation felt the city should have saved the historic property. The demolition requirments specified that the trees on the site had to be saved.

Urban Renewal

Sunnyvale Plaza Shopping Center had been developed in the 1950s in the tradition of Main Street U.S.A., where townspeople would venture for retail shopping, banking and other business. Sunnyvale Plaza's three major tenants were Hart's Department Store, J. C. Penney, and J. J. Newberry, which together occupied 127,000 square feet of building

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[27]Sunnyvale Daily Standard, 25 March 1964.

[28]Sunnyvale Standard, 9 October 1969.

space. By the 1960s, retail sales on this main downtown street declined, because Sunnyvale residents also shopped at outlying centers such as Mayfield Mall, San Antonio Shopping Center, and Valley Fair.

In an attempt to bolster sales at Sunnyvale Plaza, the city petitioned the federal government for funds to clear and redevelop thirty-two acres of land occupied by dilapidated residential and commercial buildings. It was bounded by Mathilda Avenue to the west, Evelyn to the north, Murphy Avenue to the east and Washington to the south. Federal government requirements to qualify for funds stated that the majority of the blighted property had to be residential. The 100 block of Murphy Avenue, which today is the city's only historic district, was disallowed as part of the urban renewal program because it was a commercial street. If the federal government had not enforced this stipulation, the present-day historic district would not exist. City officials wanted the Murphy Avenue district razed. The remaining nineteen acres were rezoned commercial, and developed under the guise of the "Encina Urban Renewal Plan." Parking and streets were provided by the city, and Town & Country Village Inc. bought the remaining land for $285,000 on 21 June 1966. Town & Country Village, a 65,000-square-foot open mall of sixty stores

adjacent to Sunnyvale Plaza across Washington Street, opened in 1968.

Conclusion

Sunnyvale suffered from a split personality in the 1960s. On the one hand, local downtown merchants lobbied for redevelopment, urban renewal and razing Old City Hall. They envisioned that their turf would remain the social and political focal point of the city. At the same time, however, larger entities such as the Defense Department and large-scale real estate developers were gaining a strong economic foothold in Sunnyvale. As defense-related employment rose, land was purchased and developed into industrial parks whose owners and tenants had little or no interest in the downtown. Each of these diverging constituencies felt that they held the key to the city's future. This schizophrenia led directly to the decision in the 1970s to replace the old downtown with a regional shopping mall.

The civic disruption and political shuffling of the 1960s was a natural outcome of the tremendous growth in Sunnyvale since World War II. The identity of the town changed dramatically. The title of a Newsweek article, "Sunnyvale: Prunes to Missiles," aptly described the identity crisis facing the city.

The price Sunnyvale paid for the rampant growth of the 1950s was a federal government-dependent economic base and political discord. Strategies intended to solve the problem of dependence on the fruit industry produced an array of new problems and reproduced some of the old ones in a new guise. By 1970, city leaders were calling for economic diversification of the Defense Department-dominated economy.

CHAPTER 6

HEART OF THE SILICON VALLEY

The 1970s were years of change for the character of Sunnyvale. Outside influences flexed massive economic muscles and overpowered local businesses. The Silicon Valley phenomenon affected the city to such a degree that it became difficult to distinguish the town from the valley. Sunnyvale was identified as the "heart" of the computer industry sprawl:

> Thanks to its unbridled industrial growth, Sunnyvale has earned the nickname "The Heart of the Silicon Valley." A greater concentration of high-technology businesses has developed there than anywhere else in the world.[1]

The Chamber of Commerce and city officials relished being identified as the "heart of the Silicon Valley." In reality, however, the city emerged from the decade with no "heart" of its own. The former downtown had been redeveloped into a regional shopping mall with only a few redwood trees to link it to the town's past. Sunnyvale Community Center, a multi-purpose recreation facility on twenty acres, was completed in 1973. The City Council established the Department of Community Relations to promote citizen participation in government. No significant increase in voter turnout occurred. Industrial parks and

[1]"How Sunnyvale and Cupertino Fared During the 1970s," Valley Journal, 2 January 1980.

neighborhoods were spread throughout the city, many not even knowing the other existed. The city boundaries merged with adjoining towns and it became unclear where Sunnyvale began or ended.

Political factions exchanged seats. The more pro-growth group began the decade as the city leadership. By 1980, candidates sponsored by the liberal citizen lobby group ORCHARDS controlled city government. They were too weak, however, to alter the plan for the shopping mall or curb annexations and industrial land zoning.

In January 1980, for the first time in the history of Sunnyvale, the City Council invoked a moratorium on industrial growth. The 112-day suspension of industrial building allowed time for recommendations to be drawn up to ask industry to pay part of the cost of mitigating traffic and housing problems in Sunnyvale. The following month, however, the City Council allowed variances from the moratorium for 500,000 square feet of industrial building already underway.

Silicon Valley

In 1971, editor Don C. Hoefler wrote a series of three articles for Electronic News which outlined a genealogy of companies that developed, one from another, after eight engineers defected from Shockley Transistor Corporation in 1957 to form Fairchild Semiconductor. Shockley Transistor

Corporation was "the direct antecedent of nearly every semiconductor firm in the area. . . ."[2] Hoefler's articles, "Silicon Valley--U.S.A.," identified "Silicon Valley" as the place where the evolution of the semiconductor had occurred, and they virtually renamed Santa Clara County. The appellation stuck, and the world has come to know the area more as the "Silicon Valley" than by the actual names of the cities in the region.

Robert Noyce, one of the "traitorous eight" who left Shockley, headed Fairchild Semiconductor until 1968 when he left to start microchip manufacturer Intel Corporation. In 1969, Advanced Micro Devices was founded by eight former employees of Fairchild. Between 1959 and 1979, fifty separate companies were founded by former Fairchild employees.

The microprocessor was introduced in 1971 by Intel Corporation. In 1976, Steve Wozniak built a home computer from a used microprocessor he bought for $20. Wozniak joined forces with young computer wizard Steve Jobs to form Apple Computer, which introduced the personal computer in 1977.

The Silicon Valley fostered a new form of amassing capital to finance business ventures. Companies relied less

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[2]Don C. Hoefler, "Silicon Valley--U.S.A.," Electronic News, 11, 18, 25 January 1971.

on banks than on high-risk investments by venture capitalists. They amassed large amounts of cash from investors, and invested in start-up companies based on business plans and to some extent, hunches. The venture capital companies supported the technologists' need for cash and the available cash flow encouraged new generations of high-technology firms.

In the tradition of electronics giants Hewlett-Packard and Varian, fledgling entrepreneurs started new businesses in garages and at kitchen tables in Silicon Valley at an incredible rate. In response to this phenomenon, real estate developers built and leased "incubator" spaces. Fair Oaks Business Park in Sunnyvale, built in the 1970s, housed thirty-five "garage enterprises" and was the springboard to success for many tenants. Each of the three buildings had twelve garage-style units, made up of approximately 1,000 square feet with a small office.

A group of former Hewlett-Packard employees formed TRIUS, and opened their business in Fair Oaks Business Park. Partner Bill Ballenbach said, "you get into the entrepreneur thing with the idea of becoming the master of your own destiny."[3] Hundreds of Silicon Valley marketing specialists

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[3]Bill Workman, "Fledgling Capitalists In Garages," San Francisco Chronicle, 23 May 1977.

and engineers left secure, well-paying jobs to strike out on their own and form new companies.

The "gold rush" of major success stories in start-up electronics firms was relatively short-lived. Ultimately there were many more failures than successful ventures, but throughout the 1970s, the mentality of the valley maintained the image of a garage tinkerer suddenly turned Chief Executive Officer.

Moira Johnston, in a 1982 article for National Geographic, decribed the Silicon Valley as:

> an incestuous network of suppliers, customers, venture capitalists, brains, research institutes, computer and software companies, schools, and headhunters, the executive recruiters who move men around the valley at a dizzying rate in a tradition of musical jobs that is a key to the valley's contagious vitality.[4]

She noted that the valley success stories did not apply to all, however. There were 120,000 assembly-line workers of various ethnic backgrounds who could not afford to buy homes in the valley.[5]

Silicon Valley became an economic magnet for immigrants from all over the world. Thousands streamed into Santa Clara County in a modern-day "gold rush" to find their own personal success. Something curious has happened within high-tech industry, however. Never before have recent

[4]Moira Johnston, "High Tech, High Risk, and High Life in Silicon Valley," National Geographic, October 1982, 468.

[5]Ibid., 470.

immigrants filled the highest positions in companies as well as the lowest. Technologically advanced industries allow those educated in foreign countries access to managerial positions. At the same time, uneducated and unskilled workers remain at the bottom levels of employment. The industry demands both the skilled and unskilled. It needs "intellectually qualified manpower while at the same time. . . access to substantial pools of unskilled labor."[6]

Many political and economic factors contributed to immigration to the Silicon Valley. Andrew Grove, president of Intel Corporation, and himself an immigrant from Hungary, gives insight into the choices of the newcomers.

> For a lot of these immigrants [Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese and Cambodians]--myself being an example of this--technology is a way to break into the mainstream, middle-class American society, because technology and technological work are less dependent on language skills.[7]

Immigrants from Asia have lived in Sunnyvale since its earliest days. However during the 1970s and 1980s a dramatic increase in Asian and Pacific Rim immigration

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[6]AnnaLee Saxenian, "Silicon Chips and Spatial Structure: The Industrial Basis of Urbanization in Santa Clara County," (Master's Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1980), 2.

[7]Andrew S. Grove, "The Future of Silicon Valley," California Management Review, 29 (Spring 1987), 158.

occurred. The 1980 census indicated a 63% increase in Asians since a special census taken in 1975.[8]

More Industrial Parks

Although Moffett Industrial Park was the largest industrial development in the early 1970s, it was by no means the only one. Real estate speculation on industrial land and buildings erupted on a very large scale in Sunnyvale in response to Moffett Park's track record and the growing high-technology production in Silicon Valley. Just as the revolution in semiconductors relied upon venture capitalists as an alternative to traditional bank financing, so the availability of the venture capital money produced a whole group of real estate speculators. They built industrial parks "on spec," gambling that the high-technology revolution would generate demand for the buildings that sprouted throughout Sunnyvale. The developers themselves, and ultimately the real estate agents working for them, marketed the buildings and drew the companies to Sunnyvale. The Chamber of Commerce no longer needed to be a marketing agent for the city because the real estate business did it for them.

City Manager John E. Dever articulated the differences

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[8]"Faces of the Future," San Jose Mercury News, 17 September 1989, 16A.

from the 1950s process of encouraging industrial growth:

> Years ago, the city encouraged development to industrial firms by extending services and a national advertising campaign. Now it's moved to the stage where we call on developers, rather than the businesses.[9]

In 1973, Dever announced that forty-three buildings totaling 890,000 square feet were under construction in Sunnyvale, to be added to the existing 150 buildings. Sixty electronics firms were located in Sunnyvale in that year. Nogales Industrial Park, second in size to Moffett Industrial Park, comprised eighty buildings off Mathilda Avenue; owner-developers Richard Peery and John Arrillaga planned twenty more buildings for Nogales.

International Science Center, located north of Arques between Lawrence Expressway and Wolfe, recently sold an additional twenty-three acres to existing tenant Western Electric Corporation. In addition, Southern Pacific formed a joint venture partnership with the City of Sunnyvale and the City of Santa Clara to develop Oakmead Industrial Park on the land off Lawrence Expressway that had been the General Motors site.

Organized opposition to industrial growth in Sunnyvale did not occur until the 1970s. For twenty years, city officials had proclaimed the benefits of a stong industrial presence in Sunnyvale. That presence consisted primarily of

[9]Ed Hering, "Sunnyvale's New Spurt of Growth," San Jose Mercury News, 10 February 1973.

defense-oriented businesses until the end of the Vietnam War. When the war ended and defense contracts dropped off, city officials scrambled to find developers who were building for consumer-oriented companies. They bemoaned the short-sighted reliance on the Defense Department and launched an entirely new welcome campaign to high-technology businesses. City Manager John Dever recalled "then the stress was on defense-oriented industry where drastic cutbacks occurred. I don't think we'll be quite as vulnerable as we were."[10] He felt that consumer high-technology businesses would be more stable than defense contractors.

Emergence of Grassroots Opposition

In 1972, a citizens' group proposed rezoning 200 acres of land earmarked for industry to residential use. A two-hour public debate in council chambers culminated in a unanimous council vote against the proposal which took less than 60 seconds. Citizens were outraged that the council appeared to have decided their position before the public debate. Orchard Gardens neighborhood, which was isolated from other neighborhoods by industrial development, had residents who advocated the change because a new school would be required in their area by the increased population.

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[10]Ibid.

Their children would not have to commute out of the neighborhood to go to school.[11]

A liberal citizen lobby group, the Organization of Responsible Citizens for Halting Reckless Development in Sunnyvale, or ORCHARDS, opposed further industrial development, defense-oriented or otherwise. Ironically, there were very few orchards left in Sunnyvale, most already destroyed by residential and industrial development. ORCHARDS sponsored three candidates, Douglas Daetz, Beth Erikson and Mary Anna Eklund, for City Council in 1973. Eklund, speaking on behalf of ORCHARDS, claimed "public welfare is not being served in this race to cover the land." City Councilman Charles Hefferlin replied that "what is happening is a source of pride and gratification, no matter what the reason, because the end result is providing relocating [sic] of jobs through diversification."[12]

Incumbent Mayor Etta S. Albert warned the public against the "radical element" when she spoke at the Sunnyvale Republican Women's Club lunch shortly before the election: "If you want another Berkeley or another Palo Alto, the future of Sunnyvale is in your hands, with the

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[11]"Industrial Land Locked Up: Sunnyvale's Population Control," Valley Journal, 15 September 1972.

[12]Ed Hering, "Industrial Growth Debated," San Jose Mercury News, 17 March 1973.

people you elect."[13] None of the ORCHARDS candidates was successful in 1973.

The development debate continued after ORCHARDS' electoral defeat. ORCHARDS chairman Larry Stone said that "development is just out of control. It's rampant." Mayor Albert's response was:

> I don't see what he's talking about in saying development is rampant. Sunnyvale is regarded widely as one of the better planned cities in this area. And we are 98% developed already. Development here has been controlled, not rampant.[14]

In 1975 elections, two ORCHARDS candidates won seats on the City Council. Larry Stone, a Santa Clara County planning commissioner, defeated incumbent Harold Shields. Greg Morris, an attorney and founding member of ORCHARDS, defeated Charles Hefferlin.

ORCHARDS advocated city purchase of land for open space. A November 1974 ballot measure authorized the sale of $5 million worth of 20-year general obligation bonds for purchase of open space. Etta Albert did not feel that "the general public has the information available, the background, the knowledge of bond markets, and so on, available to the council and staff to be able to make these kinds of decisions."[15]

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[13]San Jose Mercury News, 9 March 1973.

[14]Valley Journal, 17 November 1973.

[15]Ibid.

Downtown Redevelopment and Sunnyvale Town Center

Downtown redevelopment continued to be a major issue for the City Council in the 1970s since the seven City Council members made up the Sunnyvale Redevelopment Agency. Town & Country Village had not been the anticipated panacea for blight and age in downtown. However, Don Logan, who ran unopposed for his Council seat in 1975, advocated additional redevelopment like the Town & Country Village. He claimed that "if we don't do it now, we'll just have a crappy downtown forever."[16]

Redevelopment Agency Director Gordon Miller asserted in 1978 that the impetus for downtown redevelopment had come from the Downtown Business and Professional Association. Councilman Larry Stone claimed that the project had been the brainchild of then City Manager John Dever. It was Dever's "perception of what should be down there."[17] By the time the project began, however, many downtown merchants opposed the mall. They accused developer Ernest Hahn of underhanded tactics to eliminate competition from his handpicked

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[16]Jim Barrett, "Re-election is Secure but Unopposed Logan Isn't Ignoring Voters," Sunnyvale Scribe, 12 March 1975.

[17]"Heart Transplant for Sunnyvale," Peninsula Magazine, June 1978.

tenants. Another concern was that some merchants' rent would be increased as much as 500%.[18]

The growing obsolescence of the central area prompted the planning department to contract with Larry Smith & Company to conduct an economic feasibility study of the downtown retail area. They recommended that a new regional shopping center be built. Almost thirty-five acres covering nine city blocks with ninety individual land parcels were within the project's boundaries. There were eleven residential units, eighty-four retail outlets, forty-nine commercial businesses, ten financial organizations and five non-profit groups. The 1975 total assessed value was $2,058,560; the market value, however, was $12,557,216.[19]

The environmental impact report describing the area proposed four alternatives as approaches to downtown redevelopment. The first was partial redevelopment, which included enclosing the existing Sunnyvale Plaza in a mall and adding two additional anchor tenants. The second alternative was to continue patchwork rehabilitation to salvage downtown, but pursue no massive redevelopment. Third, the report proposed combining commercial and

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[18]Richard Hanner, "Angry Citizens Rip City: Boycott Eyed," Valley Journal, 24 May 1978.

[19]You-Wen Hsieh, "The Redevelopment of Downtown Sunnyvale, California," (Master's Thesis, San Jose State University, 1979), 57.

residental development to create an urban center rather than a shopping center. The fourth alternative was to improve parking and landscaping, but no further renewal. Neither the environmental impact report nor the economic feasibility study mentioned four existing Sunnyvale shopping centers: Cherry Chase Center, Pavlina Plaza, Loehman's Plaza and La Hacienda Shopping Center, whose combined retail space totaled 400,000 square feet. In addition, more than 100,000 square feet of retail space was already under construction at the Homestead Square Shopping Center. None of the four alternatives proposed by the environmental impact study were implemented.

In June 1976, the Sunnyvale City Council sat as the Sunnyvale Redevelopment Agency and adopted a preliminary development agreement and financing package to develop a regional shopping mall in Sunnyvale's downtown. Councilman Don Koreski abstained because of a conflict of interest, and Councilman Larry Stone cast the only dissenting vote. He claimed the project was "too big" and said "I will continue in my efforts to convince Mr. Hahn (Ernest Hahn, general partner for Sunnyvale Town Center Associates, the developer) that Sunnyvale doesn't need or want a shopping center this size."[20]

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[20]Sally Racanelli, "City Moves Forward on Redevelopment Plan For Downtown; Stone Says It's `Too Big,'" The Sunnyvale American, 24 June 1976.

Councilwoman Etta Albert-Logan, who had married Mayor Don Logan, claimed the center was "exactly what is needed," and Councilman Gil Gunn said he could no longer tolerate the empty stores, sex shops, and traffic problems downtown. According the Gunn, the center was inevitable: "We can't do anything to stop this development!"[21]

A representative of the citizens' group ORCHARDS told the packed council chambers that the proposed report was so confusing that it may as well have been written in "Mandarin Chinese." He questioned reliability of the financial proposals for the project, and asked whether city funds would be needed to pay obligations on the bonds. Larry Stone raised concerns about the use of general city funds, but he eventually supported the financial package even though he objected to the size of the project. City Manager Dever assured all that there would be no financial risk for the city.[22]

Some ORCHARDS members felt betrayed by Larry Stone, their leader on the council, who did not fight the redevelopment project. They formed Residents for a Vote on Redevelopment and their platform asserted that anticipated revenues from the center were overstated and liabilities underestimated. The group launched an unsuccessful campaign

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

for a referendum. Councilwoman Albert-Logan called the residents "poor losers" and went on to say, "I guess the only way you can convert people like that is to get them elected to the City Council." Her reference pointed to Larry Stone, a converted ORCHARDS council member.[23]

The city adopted the recommendations of the economic feasibility study but rejected the proposals of the environmental impact report. In October 1976, Sunnyvale officials agreed to undertake the Sunnyvale Town Center project by contracting with a partnership of builder Ernest W. Hahn, Inc., and Sunnyvale Town Center Properties Corporation, a R. H. Macy & Co. subsidiary. Sunnyvale Plaza, slightly more than twenty years old, was demolished in 1977.

Michael Lenhart, an anti-communist immigrant from Yugoslavia in 1960, had a downtown Sunnyvale business selling wigs. When he was notified of the impending demise of his building, he plastered huge signs on all the windows proclaiming "Forced out of business by City of Sunnyvale and Macy's," and "My Three Children May Go Hungry" and "How Free is America?"[24] Paul and Lisa Staschower, owners of Paul's Draperies, filed a lawsuit in an attempt to hold up the

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[23]"Heart Transplant," Peninsula Magazine, June 1978.

[24]"Businessman Battling City Hall Ouster Edict," Valley Journal, 8 July 1977.

project, but a Superior Court judge refused to hear the case.[25]

Eve Marshall, a local resident, cut her Macy's charge card in several pieces and sent them to the store's headquarters. The president of Macy's called her and asked if he could reissue her card. She refused and said she would not shop at the mall. She urged the other 125 people at the May 1978 city council meeting to cut up their charge cards too.[26]

Former Chamber of Commerce Manager Al Spiers continued to reside in Sunnyvale after he had been fired from his Chamber job. He lived on Washington Street in the central area of the city. Spiers went to a public hearing at Adair School the night of 22 March 1978 along with 200 angry residents and business people. The public believed that city officials had plans to turn the 1,000-acre central core, which contained over two thousand single-family homes, into a redevelopment project for high-density housing and offices. Spiers was applauded by the crowd when he demanded to know why "brand new businesses" were torn down to make way for the shopping mall when "skid row" on Murphy Avenue was left untouched. After speaking, Spiers collapsed; he was pronounced dead when he was taken by ambulance to El

[25]"Heart Transplant," Peninsula Magazine, June 1978.

[26]Hanner, "Angry Citizens," Valley Journal, 24 May 1978.

Camino Hospital. City officials attempted to soothe public sentiment when they sent out a letter the following week with assurances that there was no "master plan" for the area, and inviting comments or proposals from the citizens.

A June 1978 article in Peninsula Magazine described the "Heart Transplant for Sunnyvale," and said "residents and visitors to Sunnyvale are trying to adjust to the annihilation of the downtown they had known where streets have disappeared and businesses were displaced."[27] The demolition plans called for the preservation of several old trees that had been on and near the property of the old City Hall. The shopping mall was designed and constructed around the trees, and the middle of the mall has an open plaza.

Longtime Sunnyvale resident Fern Ohrt, who as a child had heard John Muir speak, researched the origin of each of the trees to ensure their preservation. Mrs. Ohrt discovered that when the old City Hall was completed in the early 1930s, there was no available money for landscaping. Local school children collected coins and purchased one of the cedar trees planted there. The Sunnyvale Women's Club planted a second cedar, and buried a time capsule at its base.[28] In the 1920s, Mr. Svitz had smuggled two redwood

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[27]Ibid.

[28]Karen Goldman, "Fern Ohrt's Story: Saving the Trees," Pamphlet file, Sunnyvale Public Library, 1979.

saplings into California from Oregon and planted them near his Washington Street home. When he heard that the City Hall needed trees, he transplanted them to the city property because he knew they would grow too big for his yard.[29] Two other redwood trees had marked either side of a driveway when they were planted. Today they appear very close together. The last tree was planted on City Hall land on a Memorial Day in the 1940s by some Sunnyvale mothers who had lost sons in the war. The day the tree was planted, an auto accident in front of Fremont High School claimed the lives of two other Sunnyvale boys.[30]

Sunnyvale Town Center, a $60 million regional mall, opened in September 1979. The shopping center intended to draw shoppers from well beyond the boundaries of Sunnyvale. The Town Center project was financed by the Sunnyvale Redevelopment Agency which sold bonds to private investors. In 1977, bonds valued at $38,000,000 were issued. Proceeds were used for property acquisition and relocation expenses, demolition costs, and public improvements, including a two-story parking structure.

Sunnyvale incurred an annual loss of $1.6 million on bond payments because Proposition 13 cut the property taxes on which the city counted to retire the bonds. At the same

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[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

time, Proposition 13 benefited developers of Town Center by reducing interest rates by two-thirds. City officials made attempts to recoup their losses from the developers' windfall. Additional shortfalls were due to the fact that a third anchor tenant for the mall never materialized. Acting City Manager, Tom Lewcock, claimed that the debts would be reduced when a third major tenant leased space.[31] Another anchor tenant for the mall has never been found.

Last Holdouts

The last strawberry patch in Sunnyvale was sold to builder Victor Bellomo in 1976 where he built sixty-seven homes in "Strawberry Gardens." When the sale of the property was made public, Bellomo had 250 people on a waiting list for houses. The fourteen acres near the intersection of Reed and Wolfe Roads had been leased and farmed by James and Shigeyo Imahara since 1955. Their twenty field hands were let go, and they opened a retail produce market at Oakmont Square Shopping Center. Imahara regretted the sale: "They say this is progress, but I don't know. In ten more days these tomatoes would have been ready for the harvest."[32]

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[31]Mark Nelson, "Sunnyvale Tries to Recoup its Annual Bond Loss," Valley Journal, 30 January 1980, 2.

[32]William Moore, "The Vanishing Strawberry Fields," San Francisco Chronicle, 21 July 1976, 4.

George Nakano, the property owner, bought 17 acres in 1950. He planted his own chrysanthemum farm on three acres, and leased the rest to the Imaharas. In 1950 his property tax bill was $73, and by 1976 he was paying $14,000 annually. Paperwork required by local, state and federal governments became more demanding and complicated with each passing year. When Nakano sold the property, an agricultural land preservation bill was before the State Senate. Nakano and Bellomo vehemently opposed any regulation, maintaining that property owners need to be able to be compensated for their investment in land.

Bellomo, a Sunnyvale native, had been a cherry orchardist until he sold his land in the 1960s and went into the property development business. The homes he built in "Strawberry Gardens" sold for between $73,000 and $87,000.

Mr. Y.K. Fong, a Chinese immigrant from Macao, a Portuguese colony off the coast of mainland China, came to Sunnyvale in 1960. He raised his children on his flower farm on North Mary Avenue, supplying florists with chrysanthemums. Fong's son and daughter claimed that "quick talking developers have abused Asian-American farmers," and that their father's limited English caused him to agree with developers' proposals. When Mary Manor Mobile Home Park was built next to the Fong farm, Mr. Fong attempted to object because the insecticides sprayed on the flowers would not be

compatible with the new use. His objections were ignored by developers, but the new residents at Mary Manor were quick to complain during spraying season. Fong's son Paul made an unsuccessful bid for City Council as a way to make the voices of Asian-American farmers heard.[33]

CONCLUSION

During the 1970s, the character of Sunnyvale changed dramatically. By 1979, 65,000 non-residents of Sunnyvale worked in the city's seven industrial parks. The commuting work force had very little personal, social, cultural or political connection to the City of Sunnyvale. The presence of the Silicon Valley was clear by the numbers of buildings sprouting up at an incredible rate to house the high-tech companies. What had been the "heart" of the town no longer existed.

The conservative city government was replaced by ORCHARDS candidates who advocated limiting industrial growth and promoted open-space policies. However, these candidates also supported the construction of the regional mall that replaced downtown. There appeared very little connection between the city government and the high-tech environment that inundated Sunnyvale.

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[33]Sunnyvale Scribe, 16 April 1975.

CHAPTER 7

REFLECTIONS ON SUNNYVALE'S HISTORY

Several recurring themes emerge from a careful study of the history of Sunnyvale. One theme is the degree to which the City of Sunnyvale is part of a larger picture, intricately involved with the county, the region, California and the federal government. It is tempting to try to analyze Sunnyvale in isolation. Outside factors have had major influence in Sunnyvale, however, from the construction of the San Francisco-San Jose railroad through the establishment of Moffett Field up to federal funding of defense contracts. Sunnyvale would be an entirely different place if it were not part of the Silicon Valley and the San Francisco Bay Area.

An understanding of how Sunnyvale fits into the bigger picture requires a sense of regional relationships. When Naval Air Station Sunnyvale was established, cooperation was the watchword of the day. However, twenty years later, in attempts to compete with Dutch Hamann's "panzer division" annexing thousands of acres, selfish isolationism ruled in Santa Clara County.

Another theme that runs through Sunnyvale's history is a sense that people believed change and development were inevitable. Very few questioned "progress" or formulated

alternatives. At the beginning, it appeared to Europeans that the Native Americans' way of life would inevitably be eradicated and their existence erased. Later, in the 1950s, Al Spiers told the farmers to sell their land because development was inevitable. The Old City Hall inevitably was razed. Councilman Gil Gunn asserted that Sunnyvale Town Center was the inevitable solution to downtown's problems. When the phenomenon of Silicon Valley emerged, Sunnyvale officials approved the inevitable industrial development.

On the other hand, there were instances when what appeared inevitable was overcome. Japanese farmers would not accept landownership restrictions against them, and purchased land in the names of their American-born children. Even though the Murphy family house was not saved, a strong-minded group of local citizens lobbied the city to apply for a federal grant to purchase the former Murphy property to create a park. ORCHARDS opposition candidates did not accept that the old guard would remain in political power and eventually succeeded in winning elections.

Justifying change because it is "inevitable" alleviates personal and collective responsibility for social and political decisions. A history such as this can point to moments of change and illuminate the decision-making process. The hope is that future choices reflect broad

public participation and accountability from government officials.

A third theme woven through the history is that attempts to cure one ill can lead to a whole new set of problems. A supposed panacea begets numerous pains of its own. The post-World War II development binge was to be the cure-all for unemployment. It worked. However, the growth was unrestrained, and regional cooperation was non-existent. The resulting suburban sprawl created a new generation of problems. Likewise, contracts from the Defense Department were thought to be the answer to a sagging industrial economy. For a time, the economy was supported by the contracts which ultimately increased dependence on the federal government, spawning new issues of contention. The cure for this dependency was a shift to high-tech consumer-goods design and production. The problems resulting from the concentration of companies in Silicon Valley are air and water pollution, traffic congestion, and housing shortages. The solutions generated to solve the problems throughout Sunnyvale's history have worked in the short-term, but more comprehensive, long-term answers are needed.

Each time the basis for earning a living has changed in Sunnyvale's history, repercussions are evident socially and politically. The Spanish forced a change from the hunter-gatherer tradition of the Costanoans to farming and animal

husbandry. Large landowners forced a shift to wheat production which lasted until tracts of land were divided and non-citrus fruit became the dominant staple of the economy. With advances in farm technology and the establishment of the railroad, new ways of packing and shipping fruit were developed. Canneries became the driving force behind the economy. In addition, both World Wars shifted the economic base from agriculture toward industry. Men left the fields for the foundries and assembly lines, while women, children, and migrant workers kept the canneries in business.

The evolution of the transistor, the integrated circuit, and the microprocessor changed the economy again. Another change is on its way, however, as production of many of these products is moved to other countries. Some industry experts in Japan think that the electronics industry in the Silicon Valley has promoted its own deterioration by eliminating production facilities and assembly lines here. All that will be left "is a shell of lawyers, accountants, marketing specialist. . ." with no industry to service.[1]

The demolition of the old downtown and construction of a regional shopping mall has removed what had formerly been

[1]Dennis Hayes, Behind the Silicon Curtain: The Seductions of Work in a Lonely Era (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 20.

the visible "heart" of the town. New attempts at community involvement and civic pride allow for the beginning of a new identity for the town. Civic leaders hope that without the visible "heart," a new center of identity will emerge from other aspects of the city such as schools, parks, and recreational and cultural events.

The themes that are woven through the history of Sunnyvale provide a basis for reflection on community participation in the process of decision-making for the city. Future choices need to be broader than the panacea proposals of years gone by. Citizens identifying themselves as part of an alive, vibrant town with a colorful past will be more likely to take an active role in making their city a good place to live and work.

APPENDIX

Table 3

Sunnyvale Population 1920-1940
(Incorporated Area)

	1920	1930	1940
Total	1,676	3,094	4,373
Male		1,564	2,212
Female		1,530	2,121
White		3,006	3,493
Black		5	0
Other		83	40*

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Population, Published Reports, California, Santa Clara County, Sunnyvale, 1920-1940.

*"Other" races were not broken down by gender, therefore the figures for male and female residents do not add up to the total.

Table 4

Sunnyvale Population 1910-1940
(Including Unincorporated Area)

	1910	1920	1930	1940
Total	1,859	3,390	4,490	8,436
Male			2,351	5,296
Female			2,139	3,140
White			4,191	8,222
Black			5	7
Other			294	207

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Population, Published Reports, California, Santa Clara County, Sunnyvale Township, 1910-1940.

Table 5

Sunnyvale Population 1950-1980

	1950	1960	1970	1980
Total	9,829	52,898	95,408	106,618
Male	4,901	26,424	47,240	
Female	4,928	26,474	48,168	
White	9,725		90,286	86,279
Black	22	34	750	2,573
Japanese		389	1,492	2,074
Chinese		235	1,273	3,221
Filipino		149	734	2,989
Vietnamese				1,106
Mexican				7,761
Other Hispanic				4,527
Other				5,844

Source: United States, Bureau of Census, Population, Published Reports, California, Santa Clara County, Sunnyvale, 1950-1980.

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